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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE NEW OPPOSITION.

From the Springfield Republican, June 1.

THE expected onslaught upon President Johnson has commenced, and it comes from the very men who found quick consolation for the death of Mr. Lincoln in the hope that his successor would be a man more after their own heart. But he has committed the unpardonable sin; he will not renounce one of his strongest and most often repeated convictions, and adopt the dogma of State suicide. Upon no other theory could he annihilate the State Constitutions and prescribe the law of suffrage to the States. To do it with his present opinions would be to trample alike on the Constitution of the United States and of the separate States, and assume despotic power. None know this better than those who abuse him for not doing it, and they only demonstrate, what has been too often proved before, that they themselves have no regard to constitutions or laws when they stand in the way of their wishes. And now they upbraid the President with deferring to prejudice against the negro, and casting aside "the gospel of Republican ideas." Fortunately, the President is not a man to be frightened by epithets. His friendship for the long oppressed race is too well established to be put in donbt by fancy philanthropists who have never done anything but rant in their behalf. He liberated his own slaves, and the colored people of Tennessee look up to him and trust in him as a friend and defender. It is altogether likely that he donbts the propriety of making the freedmen voters at once, for he knows how deeply slavery has degraded them and unfitted them for the intelligent use of such power. They do not ask it. The clamor comes from mere politicians. The negroes are willing to wait till they can prove themselves fit for so high a trust, and the call for immediate negro suffrage by no means indicates any special affection for the freedmen.

Undonbtedly we shall see a bitter and unscrupulous opposition organized on this question. It will not come from those who are laboring for the education and improvement of the freed people. It will have no support from the freed people themselves. It will be the work of a faction, playing falsely with great ideas, for partisan and sinister purposes. The emancipated class will be educated and protected, and will eventually attain to the dignity of voters, but they will not be helped to either by the efforts of the men who demand the violation of the Constitution in their behalf, and who denounce their true friends because they prefer principle to passion. President Johnson is clearly right in this matter, and he will be sustained. If the majority in Congress can be induced, as is now threatened, to reject the members from reconstructed States, unless the freed slaves are allowed to vote, the revolutionary act will be fatal only to themselves. But snch madness is impossible. Think of members whose own constituents refuse the ballot to colored citizens attempting to exclude Southern Representatives for the same thing. Let us at least do justice to our own colored men before undertaking to dictate the same thing to the South.

THE CHASE-SUMNER POLITICAL MOVEMENT—SOCIAL WAR THREATENED.

From the N. Y. Herald, June 1.

THE real purpose of Chief-Justice Chase's letter to his friends in the West, urging the organization of a new party, and the object of his mission South, are daily becoming more apparent. The more the mystery is unravelled, the more manifest the mischief which his schemes will produce. The assertion in his speech to the negroes of Charleston that he was no longer in the councils of the Administration, might, without supporting evidence, have been passed over as a mere flourish of words. But, unfortunately for the Chief-Justice, he has left us no opportunity to place that charitable construction upon it. The whole tenor of his speech was that of a firebrand gratuitously thrown into a difficult and complicated question. As bold as it appeared at the time, accumulating evidence proves it to have been made after due deliberation and not at random, without forethought. It seems that his combinations were made before he left, and his tour through the canebrakes, cotton and rice fields of the South was only a part of a grand scheme for the promulgation of ideas which he and his associates imagined would place him in the Presidential chair at the close of Mr. Johnson's term. With that one idea, prompted solely by an inordinate ambition, he sets himself up in oppositiou to the government, and promulgates theories and dogmas which, if followed up in the same spirit, will plunge the whole Southern country into a social war more dreadful in its results than the rebellion which has so suddenly collapsed.

Nor is the Chief-Justice the only pnblic man engaged in this mischievous work. Senator Sumner, who in his pnblic career has given unmistakable proof that he was the possessor of but one idea, has boldly entered upon a like crusade, and arrayed himself against the President, evidently acting with an understanding with Mr. Chase. As soon as Mr. Johnson assumed the reins of government, Mr. Sumner made an effort to control his official action and secure his assistance in carrying on this appendix warfare to the abolition question, and thus plunge the country into a sanguinary social war. Finding it impossible to draw President Johnson into his schemes, he at once plants himself in opposition. A letter was cooked np, purporting to come from colored men in North Carolina, addressed to Senator Sumner, which enabled him to place himself on record and lay the foundation for an anti-Administration movement. To this Mr. Sumner replied in the following style, under date of

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: I am glad that the citizens of North Carolina are ready to take part in the organization of government. It is unquestionably their right and duty.

I see little chance of peace and tranquillity in any rebel State unless tho rights of all are recognized without distinction of color. On this foundation we must build.

The article (from the New York *Herald*) on reconstruction, to which you call my attention, proceeds on the idea of slavery, that persons with a white skin are the only "citizens." This is a mistake.

As you do me the honor to ask me the proper stand for you to make, I have no hesitation in replying that *you must insist on all the rights and privileges of a citizen. They belong to you; they are yours; and whoever undertakes to rob you of them is a usurper and an impostor.*

Of course yon will take part in any primary meeting for political organization, open to citizens generally, and will not miss any opportunity to show your loyalty and fidelity.

Accept my best wishes, and believe me, gentlemen, faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

This letter, although short, is explicit and unmistakable in its meaning. Its purpose is evident to the most casual observer. Knowing, as he must at the time, that the President held that the question of conferring the privilege of suffrage upon the colored people of the South rested exclusively with the States, he endeavors to stir up a feud and create a dissatisfaction among this class. Like the speech of Chief-Justice Chase, its whole tendency is to incite the negroes to insurrection, by giving them the impression that the government is against them. There is not a word in the communication counselling obedience or respect to the laws of the government. They ask him for direction, and he, in response, counsels them to take part in the organization of the government; that it is their right and duty. In the face of the fact that there is no law in their State or in the Constitution of the United States recognizing that right, he tells them that those who oppose them are usurpers and impostors—thus giving the negroes the cue to engage in riots and insurrections in the face and teeth of the law, as well as counselling opposition to the Administration. What else can such teaching lead to but a bloody social war between the races in the South?

Suppose, for instance, that Mr. Summer should advise the colored people of the State of New York—who are excluded from the right of suffrage by the property clause in our State Constitution—that they had the right to vote the same as all others, who could for a moment donbt the evil intent of such advice? There could be bnt one result if the class referred to attempted to follow the direction. Such advice would be considered an effort to justify the negroes to resist all who endeavored to prevent their exercising the elective franchise. Senator Sumner has just as much right to council the negroes in this State on that point, as he has those of North Carolina or any other Sonthern State. The constitution of the United States explicitly leaves the control of the question of suffrage to the State. The laws which existed in the Southern States before the rebellion on that question are still the laws there. This is the view explicitly held by the President in his proclamation of the 29th inst. It is the individual and not the State which has sinned. The punishment for the crime of treason is confined also to the individual. But Messrs. Chase and Summer would have us obliterate all traces of the State as well as all law, and inaugurate in their stead a social war between races until the fertile fields of the South are deluged with the blood of the two races living there. They would incite the people to a bloody and endless strife, instead of harmonizing the conflicting elements and gradnally adapting the blacks to their newly acquired relations with their former masters. The transition state between that of slave and citizen, with all its rights, is a critical period for the black man as well as for the country. They who, for political advancement, attempt to sow the seed of disaffection can be considered in no other light than as enemies to law and order. Let Chief-Justice Chase and Senator Sumner, therefore, beware how they handle edged tools, or they may find themselves held responsible for a relentless, sanguinary social war.

Selections.

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

THE annual meeting of the Emancipation League was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, in the afternoon of Monday. James M. Stone, Esq., the Secretary, called the meeting to order, and announced that Major George F. Stearns would preside until the President should arrive. Committees were appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and to report a list of resolutions for the action of the meeting.

Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY of Philadelphia was then introduced as the first speaker. He began by saying that from no other State could one come so appropriately as from Pennsylvania, to open the proceedings of the meeting, for Pennsylvania was the first State to abolish slavery by distinct legislative provision. A shallow man would ask you to pour forth thanks for blessings received and paint the pleasnres of the future; I am here, said the speaker, to cry out war. We have all seen during the past four years that bastard flag under which rallied the enemies of our country; we have seen our own beautiful stars and stripes under which our husbands, fathers, and brothers have gone forth to the battle-field. Being twenty million against eight, being a democracy against an oligarchy, it was only a qnestion of days, or weeks, or months, or years, but no man with a human heart in his bosom or a well-schooled mind, doubted for an instant that our ultimate cry would be victory; and thank God for victory. But the enemy with whom we are to battle now is more subtle than the Southern confederacy or its armies. Our enemy to-day lurks in our own household, it has been trained and educated with every day of our own life, it is strengthened by every social and political influence that surrounds us. It is less subtle and direct but more powerful than logic arrayed in angelic eloquence. It is the prejudice in which we have been trained from our infancy, and which lurks with controlling power in every one of our own hearts. The future peace of the conntry depends not upon what we shall do with the conquered rebels; whether we shall hang ten more or ten less of them; whether we shall admit the colonels of regiments to vote and hold office, or deprive captains and lieutenants as well as colonels, of votes; it has bnt little reference to the white people in themselves or separated from their brethren of another hue. God has so interwoven our destiny with those American citizens of African descent that we can have neither peace nor prosperity on other terms than those of absolute justice to the negro over the whole broad limits of our country. (Applause.)

The web and woof of American life are dyed in the blood of the African. I care not whether you turn to the question of letters or religion, of commerce or manufactures, of agriculture or internal commerce, of the administration of justice at home, or the maintenance of peace, or the ever-conscious presence of American power at foreign courts, you draw and find the negro there in your way; and as you dispose of him, so will you providentially dispose of the qnestion for or against the welfare of your country. The blood of the Africo-American mingles inseparably with our own henceforth. You may cry "out damned spot" as you will, you cannot efface it; the Almighty has written it, and it stands ineffaceable and unalterable.

Your foreign commerce will be adjusted by your Southern products. In a majority of the insurrectionary States the blacks average thirty-three or forty-five per cent. of the whole people. They are the laborers of that region, they are familiar with the use of steam, they have been largely the superintendents of plantations and in many instances book-keepers; upon their own brawny shoulders have rested the Corinthian columns of Sonthern society. We have recognized their manhood, and to-day a quarter of a million of them are familiar with the use of arms; and will they consent that their wives and children shall be made pariahs, or branded as a degraded class in the midst of the community in which they dwell?

You cannot make a white State of Sonth Carolina or of Mississippi. Let the soldiers who followed SHAW at Fort Wagner, let the soldiers who have shrunk from the face of no battery which they have been permitted to confront, let them lay down their arms—and will you violate every doctrine of the Declaration of Independence and every principle that underlies the American form of institutions? I apprehend, said the speaker, that Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and the North-west will not raise an army to enforce the rule of the minority upon the majority. All men must be made free and equal before the law. How can we bring this happy consummation abont? You may determine, says one, the question in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania; but what can you do in Sonth Carolina, in Mississippi and other States? There is no State of Mississippi, of Texas, or of Alabama; there is no governor to order the elections; there are no districts made according to the Constitution of the United States; the State machinery has been overturned with treasonable intent, and it cannot be revived; it can only be created anew; and its citizens cannot resume their practical relations to the General government until they shall be recognized by both houses of Congress. It is your representatives of the loyal States who are to act upon these questions. Let the people be ready on the subject on the first Monday of next December, and you will find that all will be well. But if you leave the members of Congress to doubt whether you hate the negro as much as you used to (I speak of the old Massachusetts that tore down William Lloyd Garrison's sign and imprisoned him in the old State House), if you leave the members with the conviction that you regard the negro as your benefactor, all will be well; but if not, Congress will bow the knee to its old masters.

You have changed the spirit of old Massachusetts, and the uegro has now become a power. It is open to you to control it. How? By simply giving up the habit of lying politically. (Applause.) By simply giving up the habit of mocking God whenever you profess to worship Him. We claim in our 4th of July orations that all men are equal. Let us give up lying about it, and make it true. (Applause.) When we bend our knee to God, we remember something about trespasses, and He is not at all deceived when we say we don't mean to include the negro.

For four long years we have fought a contest upon the bloodiest battle-fields of history; shall we say to our enemies, "We only did this to show that we are right; now you may kick and cuff us as much as you used to?"

The Constitution of the United States provides that all citizens of the United States shall be entitled to equal privileges in all the States of the United States; yet they were citizens of Massachusetts whom the Charleston police took from the decks of ships in that harbor and plunged them into prison; and Massachusetts commissioned one of her ablest lawyers to appear before the courts of South Carolina in their defence, to argue in the spirit of comity which should regulate intercourse between great States. He was obliged to come away without making his argument, and I need not remind you, said the speaker, of the degradation and the insolence with which they drove your commissioner from their midst.

The speaker, in answer to the assertion that the blacks were not able to take care of themselves, said that on the list of subscriptions to the government loan was a subscription of $50,000 from the Freedman's Bank at Hilton Head; all this had been saved by those who were not able to take care of themselves; and stated many more conclusive facts, satisfactorily replying to the question.

Judge Thomas Russell, being invited to the chair by Major Stearns, called upon the Chairman of the Committee on nominations, J. H. Stephenson, Esq., to present the report, which he did, as follows:

President, Hon. Samnel B. Sewell; *Vice-Presidents*, Samnel G. Howe, Thomas Russell, Edward Atkinson, George L. Stearns; *Treasurer*, Francis W. Bird; *Secretary*, Chas. W. Slack; *Executive Committee*, John H. Stephenson, Jas. M. W. Yerrinton, Robert K. Potter, John S. Rogers, Wm. L. Burt, David Thayer, Andrew M. McPhail, Jr.

The report was accepted and the above-named gentlemen elected. Elizur Wright, Esq., from the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following:

Resolved, That we most fervently thank God and congratulate the country that what has heen called the "legal status" of slavery no longer exists within the rebel States, and that rebels have no political rights which loyal men are hound to respect.

Resolved, That this auspicious fact in our nation's history hinds us hy every sentiment of gratitude, honor, and duty, to persevere in demanding for the liberated victims of slavery all the attribntes of American citizenship.

Whereas, The same united people who unanimously approved the Declaration of American Independence in 1776, and vindicated it by the peril of their lives without distinction of race or color, eleven years afterwards adopted a national constitution without recanting one word of the former instrument, much less any political truth which it declared self-evident; therefore,

Resolved, That States in exercising their constitutional right to determine within their limits the qualifications requisite for the electors of State and United States officers, are virtually prohibited from disfranchising any citizens of the United States on account of race or color, and hence loyal colored men have the samo coustitutional right to the elective franchise as loyal white men.

Resolved, That tho disfranchisement by any so-called State of any of its citizens, not by their own criminality or the visitation of God disqualified to exercise choice as to the men who should make and administer the laws under which they are to live, would be un-republican, and would justify interference by the Federal government under that clause of the Constitution which declares that the "United States shall guaranteo to every State in this Union a Republican form of government."

Resolved, That since the denial of rights to black men was the cause of the disruption of the Union, their enfranchisement and full equality before the law must be the corner-stone of its reconstruction.

Resolved, That it becomes every day more and more apparent that substantially the entire white population of the rebellious States is hostile to the principles of republicanism, and incapable of organizing free institutions, homogeneous with those of the loyal States, and that the restoration of any State in which the suffrage is restricted to a white constituency is practically to admit the rectitude of the rebellion; to deliver the only loyal supporters of the national cause to disabilities, proscription, and outrage which will combine all the villanies of chattel slavery; to imperil the national credit, and to leave undestroyed the roots of the slave-oligarchy, to he nursed into new life, to hear again its bloody fruits of treason and war.

Resolved, That four years of bloody war have taught this nation that slavery is incompatible with a Republican form of government, and therefore, the United States acting through Congress has the full power to abolish slavery in every State, and forever to prevent the existence of slavery in all the States which shall hereafter compose the Union.

Resolved, That the omission of colored troops from the national military ovation at Washington was no less insulting to the brave white soldiers of the army, and to a grateful country, than to tho heroes of Port Hudson, Wagner, Olustee, Petersburg, and numerous other fields of patriotic sacrifice; and that such deference to the sentiment in which the rebellion was founded must be banished from the councils of the Administration before we can expect that enduring peace which rests on the benedictions of Almighty God.

While Mr. Wright was reading the above, Wendell Phillips's appearance upon the platform was the signal for enthusiastic applause. Hon. Henry Wilson soon after made his appearance, and was also heartily received.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was next introduced by Judge Russell. He said that the progress of public opinion had been so rapid during the past four years, that we talk of amendments to the Constitution, great changes in the affairs of the nation, as if they could be effected in a twelve month; but we must remember that seventy-five years the nation has grown, advanced, fought battles and been at peace, seen imminent danger and grappled with it, but never until now has public opinion ripened for any change in the National Constitution. The probability is that the principle of reconstruction which assembles all the States again under the National Capitol, will last for many a long year; let every man then make up his mind that in the principle he adopts, and which he would fain force into the renewed power of the nation, he is reaping what this great war has earned for the people. The lesson of this war is how large a step is needed for absolute security for the future, and when that lesson has been learned, the duty of the hour is to clutch all that, and be content with nothing less. Mr. Phillips said that he did not believe there was virtue extant in this people to kill Jefferson Davis and slavery too, and therefore his earnest work was to turn the whole hot current of National strife into one channel, and make an end to slavery first—not, he said, that I hate Jefferson Davis less, but that I hate slavery more. (Applause.) If this nation be constructed on the national basis, Jefferson Davis is bnt as a reed on the ocean. There is no security in the future for this nation unless it constructs the States on the basis of every man standing on his own [illegible] and holding in his hand the ballot. He wanted the people to say to the next Congress that they are convinced that peace and security for the future demand that the negro should have justice, and also that there be reconstruction on the black as well as the white system. In answer to the objection raised by many that the negro is not educated so as to vote, Mr. Phillips said that the negro has had the education of work, and is educated twenty-five years in advance of the poor whites of the Sonth, who have been edncated neither in books nor work. It has been said that Yankee enterprise in the South, the building of mills, etc., will elevate in time the masses of colored people; but, said the speaker, look at Lancashire, England; the working people there have been ground to powder, robbed of every comfort, stripped of every right, by the trade, thrift, and enterprise of that place. But in New England intelligence keeps pace with power. He wanted the South to be made like New England and not like Lancashire. Give the negro the ballot, and to-morrow there would be the school-house, and the next day the democratic Governor of Sonth Carolina will invite him to ride in his carriage. (Applause.) Stanton said, when Sherman made those first offers to Johnston, that Sherman had surrendered to Johnston; I say, said Mr. Phillips, that the Northerner who admits one State without compelling her to give every black in it the ballot, surrenders to the Confederacy. (Applause.)

EX-GOV. BOUTWELL, being introduced, said that he was more hopeful of the future than either of the gentlemen who had spoken before him. He felt a firm confidence that the country is to do that which is necessary for its own preservation. We have for the future of the eleven States which have been engaged in this rebellion two propositions: one is to give political power to our enemies, and exclude our friends; the other is to include those who are known to be loyal and true in the right to exercise political powers. His mind, he said, was clear on one point—whatever else is done, we are to secure the elective franchise to the negro. The question is not whether black men are to vote, but whether white men are to vote in those States. (Applause.) Mr. Boutwell then said that he would demand that not one of those eleven States should take its place in the nation, until there has been secured in the State Constitution that the negroes with the whites shall enjoy the elective franchise. (Great applause and cheers "for those words.") He said that he had the fullest faith that the people of this country will rise to a full comprehension of the great question, and will call for no restoration of these States except on the foundation of justice. He wanted the two districts known as the States of Florida and South Carolina reörganized by the next Congress as territories. In conclusion Gov. Boutwell said that all we should ask from the Administration is, that it should not commit itself against negro suffrage. If President Johnson will wait the progress of events, the development of public opinion, he will see in a few months that the people will accept reconstruction on no other basis.

Hon. HENRY WILSON, the next speaker, addressed the audience very briefly. He said that at home or abroad, in or ont of office, in victory or defeat, his voice and his vote would be for equal, universal, and impartial liberty. (Applause.) Slavery plunged the nation into the fire and blood of a four years' war; our brave boys have grappled with it, and to-day it lies under the iron heel of our soldiers, and no power on God's earth can save the institution of slavery in this republic. (Applause.) We have put the bayonet into the hand of the black man, and we owe to him to-day that this rebellion is under our triumphant heel. (Applause.) He was in favor of putting into the hands of these men the ballot, and he would vote for the admission of no delegate into Congress from any of the States which were not constructed on this basis.

The vote was then taken on the adoption of the resolutions, and was decided in the affirmative, [illegible] the meeting [illegible]

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN TENNESSEE.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati Commercial.

NASHVILLE, May 19, 1865.

THE Convention which met last Winter, it will be remembered, passed an act declaring slavery abolished in the State, and this was to be submitted to the people on the 4th of March, and a Governor and Legislature elected at the same time. At that time Gov. Brownlow and the Legislature now in session were elected. This was done by the general ticket system: that is to say, a ticket for the whole State by the Convention; and whenever a poll was opened, their votes were cast for or against every Representative and Senator on the ticket, and there were no opposing candidates. It is not best to enumerate the counties in which an actual election was held, or those in which there was none—suffice it to say that a majority of those who *did* vote gave their preference for the ticket and for the ratification of the Amendment. Gov. Brownlow's position is best defined in the words of his inaugural: "If I am anything in politics, I come under the hated appellation of a *Federalist*........I am the advocate of a *concentrated* Federal government, or, if more acceptable to the fastidious, of a *strong central government*, able to maintain its dignity, to assert its authority, and to crush out any rebellion that may be inaugurated." It will give some clue to the complexion of the Legislature to give their whole united vote for United States Senator. For Horace Maynard, a well-known Radical, and a supporter of the most advanced measures of Mr. Lincoln's administration, they gave thirty-eight votes, against fifty-two for Mr. Patterson, a Conservative Democrat. The Radicals hold a clean majority in the Senate, and they are probably in the majority in the House, though they are generally outgeneralled and worsted on test questions, for want of a strong leader. Their counsels are not harmonious, while the Conservatives are skilfully handled by two of the ablest men in the body, Messrs. Thomas and Steele. It should be said, in justice to Mr. Maynard, that Mr. Patterson is a son-in-law of President Johnson—a fact which had due weight with ambitious members.

Since the Legislature met, there have come before them few staple measures, since they were purposely postponed, most of them, to the regular session next Fall. They have enacted a "black code," which elicits no little opprobrium. It disqualifies the blacks from bearing witness against the whites; certain crimes, not punishable with death among the whites, are made capital with them; and it virtually makes them a caste whose condition is little preferable to that of abject slavery. It would be hard to acquit the friends of this measure of that vengeful malignance with which unohattelled masters are supposed to regard the negroes who have escaped out of their hands.

The free colored citizens of Nashville recently snbmitted to them a petition, couched in respectful and earnest words, praying to be allowed to exercise the elective franchise. Their petition contained the following statement of facts:

"This is not a new qnestion in Tennessee. From 1796 to 1835, a period of thirty-nine years, free colored men voted at all her elections without qnestion. Her leading politicians and statesmen asked for and obtained the suffrages of colored voters, and were not ashamed of it. Such men as Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, Hon. Felix Grundy, John Bell, Hon. Hugh L. White, Cave Johnson, and Ephraim H. Foster, members of the United States Senate, and of the Cabinet, Gen. William Carroll, Samuel Houston, Aaron V. Brown, and, in fact, all the politicians and candidates of all parties in Tennessee, solicited colored freemen for their votes at every election.

"Nor was Tennessee alone in this respect, for the same privileges were granted to colored freemen in North Carolina, to-day the most loyal of all the rebellious States, without ever producing any evil consequences."

This memorial was laid aside for future consideration, which it will probably not soon receive. There is not the slightest probability at present that their wish will be granted. If every other indication of this were lacking, the following alone would suffice. Persons whom I knew last Winter as zealous champions of negro suffrage, and who made eloquent speeches in support of it in the Convention, are now silent in the matter, and studiously avoid the mention of it. They are now looking for certain higher offices at the hands of the people of Tennessee, and they have sagacity to perceive that that man, or body of men, who enacts or advocates, in earnest, such a measure, dies at once the death political. I do not think the present Legislature will put ballots in the negroes' hands, simply because they will not dare to.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

From the Evening Post.

[Extract of a letter from a gentleman in St. Louis to his friend here.]

"THE contest over the adoption of the new Constitution has recently assumed a new phase. Judge Moody, in a case arising under an 'ordinance' passed by the Constitutional Convention, has decided that the Convention possessed no power to pass an ordinance; that life and vitality to an ordinance could only be given by an affirmative vote of the people. Of course this decision not only kills the ordinance under consideration, but also the ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri. Hence a tremendous upheaval of the elements followed the decision.

"The result, of course, will be a pretty unanimous vote for the new Constitution, which fortunately also contains provisions positively prohibiting slavery. The old slaveholders at first 'pricked up their ears' at the thought of regaining so much 'property,' but a few days' reflection has taught them that, with a 'Union' majority of nearly sixty thousand in Missouri, slave property is as nearly valueless as a thing can well be.

"The opposition to the adoptiou of the Constitution have not a ghost of a chance. The Southern Methodists, nearly all of the able-bodied male members of which were in the rebel armies, and the Catholics, all of whose clerical property, even its asylums, are taxed like the property of everybody else, now 'run' the Democratic party in Missouri. But as we have never had the honor of their snpport, nor desired it until they can find it in their hearts to advocate [illegible] taxation and the right of suffrage to the loyal [illegible], we have no tears to shed over their opposition. We merely laugh when we see Methodist preachers laboring to procure the right of suffrage for 'honest' bushwhackers, and Catholic priests trying to persuade the sovereign voters that one rule of taxation should be applied to the voters and another to the priests!

"Give yourself no uneasiness. Slavery is dead. Bushwhackers and rebels will not, at present, nor until the times become calm and peaceful, be allowed to help us choose our peace officers. Priests will be allowed to pray more, but pay no less, than other folks less holy; pious women, under the new Constitution, are humanely allowed to pay their preachers' taxes for them, the only indispensable thing in the matter being the fiscal fact that somebody has got to pay them, instead of throwing the clerical share of the public burdens on to the shoulders of the poor. We wild 'Missouri Radicals' understand no passage in the Bible, nor in the books of humanity, to either justify or tolerate unequal taxation, but find many directing us to be just to all, unjust to none. Hence every loyal man shall to confer the gift. Disloyal men, who wish to vote have a free vote and equal taxation, if in our power for the officers of a government they desire to subvert, and lovers of unequal taxation, who desire to pay none of those taxes which enable the authorities to furnish that protection of life and of property which they enjoy, will probably find States where they can be indulged in their aspirations. There is nothing in our new Constitution, allow me to assure you, to obstruct the passage of such persons to such States along the shortest roads to them. Loyalty, virtue, equality of rights and of privileges, as well as of burdens, are inextricably mixed together in Missouri; they cannot be used, even by the cunning, but in 'equal parts.' Holy men are no more allowed, by our new Constitution, to take an unequal share of benefits (or of burdens), than a plain Republican sinner, employed in the business of driving a cart or carrying a hod, would be allowed to steal his employer's cart or his hod. For equality and justice 'looks very handsome' to us poor radical mudsills; in fact, to be perfectly candid, we have made up our minds to entice them into our service on the 6th of June next.

THE TRAIL OF THE SERPENT.

From the Worcester Spy.

THERE were three hundred thousand colored people in Tennessee at the outbreak of the war, of whom all but abont ten thousand were slaves. During the last two years they have been assured again and again that they were slaves no longer. A State Convention declared slavery within its limits abolished and prohibited forever. President (then Governor) Johnson, in the enthusiasm of that joyful hour, assured the emancipated people that rebellion and slavery had perished there together, and that henceforward the destinies of Tennessee should be controlled by her loyal citizens, WHETHER THEY WERE WHITE OR BLACK!"

Loyal Tennessee does not keep her promise. She makes the old slaveholding dogmas the basis of her legislation, and mocks her freed people with the empty name of freedom. A bill has passed her House of Representatives which makes contracts between a white and a colored person invalid unless witnessed by a white person; disqualifies a colored person from bearing witness against whites; empowers county courts to bind out the children of free persons of color at their pleasure; provides penalties for white persons who harbor negroes; makes certain crimes capital when committed by a colored person, but venial when committed by a white; subjects "free persons of color"—as if there might still be slaves—to a constant and degrading surveillance, to be followed by fine, imprisonment, or sale into slavery, in case of failure to render satisfactory account of their movements.

This is intolerable oppression. It is the work of political Bourbons, who have yet to learn something of republican government, or make room for better men. If there were no other reasons why adequate securities should be guaranteed to the emancipated race against imposition, one quite sufficient might be found in the fact that a State like Tennessee, which has peculiar obligations, both of gratitude and of good faith, to be just to the [illegible] assail them so basely; and [illegible] the goodly growth of [illegible] oned tree which [illegible] have swept from her soil. [illegible]

THE RIGHTS OF THE FREEDMEN.

From the N. Y. Examiner and Chronicle.

WHATEVER of unreasonable ultraism or spirit of hobby-riding may be manifested by some of those who seek to make negro suffrage a political Shibboleth, there is involved in the question a great interest and great hazard to the country. The subsidence of the rebellion will leave much suppressed disloyalty in the Southern States. Many who have kept themselves clear of notable treason—who, though morally and technically guilty, are yet not distinguishable from that "mass of the people" whom the most vindictive patriots agree to spare—are as malignant in their hatred of the National government as those leaders whom the most lenient would scarcely agree to let go unpunished. And of those who have no longer stomach to fight, there are enough chivalrous souls who sustain the government only as they hope once more to take possession of it. Having failed to ruin the country, they will be ready to rule it again. And there is great danger that they may succeed. The mass of the ignorant white population are as pro-slavery as the old planters. They will be the retainers of the defeated aristocracy. Their votes will be at the service of their old political chiefs. They hate the colored men in proportion as they approach to or sink below their level. Thus a large part of the white population of the rebel States will constitute a compact party, hostile to the principles upon which the National cause has triumphed.

Allied with these will be the old pro-slavery politicians of the North and their followers, the negro-haters and the "white slaves" of the chivalry. Both combined will make a formidable effort for the sway which they lost in 1860. But whether successful in this or not, the Sonthern State governments will be in the hands of men who love slavery, and hate the very thought of political equality. Meanwhile, the freedmen, destitute of political power, will be trodden under the heel of the dominant race, whose domination will be the more oppressive through rage at the overthrow of their cherished institution. How long, in such a state of things, would it be before slavery itself would be virtually restored?

The freedmen have been faithful to the Union. Two hunded thousand of them have borne arms for its restoration. We owe to them, in an eminent degree, the success in which the Nation now rejoices. What shall be their reward? "Protection," say those who object to their full enfranchisement. But how can the National government interfere for their protection against wrongs by the State governments, without dangerous complications with the question of State rights? Did not the Nation pledge its faith to protect the Indians? Of what avail was that against the State of Georgia? Give the freedmen the ballot, and they will protect themselves.

It is said that the ballot without edncation will not avail, whereas educated men cannot be made slaves. But intelligence without power is weaker than power without intelligence. Well edncated clergymen and physicians, because of a dark skin, having all intellectual advantages but no vote, have, until within a year or two, been excluded from the street cars and from places of public amusement without redress. Were they voters, Presidential candidates might be as ready to admire their complexion as to be enraptured with "that sweet brogue."

We advocate no particular theory or method of reconstruction. We are not prepared to advocate any stretch of National power in order to control the constitutional settlement of the insurgent States. But all men of unconditional loyalty, and lovers of freedom, both within and without those States, are one party, or should be so, having common views and common interests. And if those who are thus affiliated with the loyal elements of the Southern population could, with one mind, establish political equality as their common principle, a powerful moral support would be given to the complete enfranchisement of those who have fought so bravely to preserve our liberties and to conquer their own.

THE AMERICAN CHURCHES AND NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

From the N. Y. Tribune. May 29.

THE question whether it is right to exclude American citizens from the right of suffrage on the sole ground of their color, is one of too much national importance for its discussion to be avoided.

To those who believe that all men are created equal, and ought, therefore, to be eqnal before the law, it must be very gratifying to observe that the influence of most of the religious denominations of the United States will be exercised on the right side.

The subject was referred to at the May anniversary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, a Society which, before the outbreak of the rebellion, carefully refrained from all politics. The Rev. Mr. Scudder took decided ground in favor of negro suffrage, and the audience showed by their applause that they agreed with him.

At the recent anniversary of the Baptist Home Mission Society, which represents one of the largest denominations of the United States, a resolution was unanimously adopted with respect to the freedmen, which declares it "to be both the undeniable right of the class referred to, and the indispensable condition of an assured peace and of the highest prosperity to the country, that they be invested with the elective franchise and with all the privileges of whatever kind that belong to American citizenship."

The New School Presbyterians have sufficiently indicated, by the cordial welcome which they have extended to the first colored delegates to a General Assembly of their Church, what position they intend to assume with regard to the question.

Five years ago the Old School Presbyterians, as a denomination, would probably not have shown mnch sympathy with the advocacy of negro suffrage; bnt times have changed, and the New York *Observer*, which has so long been regarded as a leader among the conservative religious press, has this week an article favorable to the reform.

KENTUCKY AND SLAVERY—OHIO AND FREEDOM.

From the Kentucky Free Sonth.

WE ask our Kentucky legislators (the most of whom should be indicted for treason) to look at the condition of the two States and think of the evil they are trying to entail npon our State and people, by refusing to adopt the Constitutional Amendment.

Ohio was admitted into the Union [illegible] years [illegible] than our own State, and the natural advantages of soil and climate possessed by Kentucky onght to have given her superiority in the race.

"Ohio has an area of 39,964 square miles; Kentucky has 37,680 square miles, the difference between the two States heing a little over two thousand square miles, or, more plainly, 1,451,760 acres. Ohio was settled in 1788; Kentucky in 1775, and the former does not appear at all in the census of 1790, when Kentucky had a population of 73,077. Now, let us trace the figures of each succeeding census:

Ohio.		Kentucky.	
1800	45,365	1800	220,955
1810	230,700	1810	406,511
1820	591,295	1820	564,185
1830	937,903	1830	687,917
1840	1,519,463	1840	779,828
1850	1,980,329	1850	982,405
1860	2,339,511	1860	1,155,684

"From the table above it will be seen that thongh hy the census of 1800 Kentucky had a greater population than Ohio hy 175,000, yet in 1810, while the former had increased in the ratio, of 84 per cent. the latter had hounded forward hy the enormous increased ratio of 408 67 per cent., and in twenty years she distanced her elder rival, her decennial increase between 1810 and 1820 heing 151 96 per cent., while Kentucky had fallen off to 38 82 per cent., which disproportion continued until 1860, when Ohio more than donbled Kentucky, though at the same time our State was burdened with 225,000 slave population. It cannot he denied that bnt for this slave population many thousands more of whites would have settled in the State; and, apart from slavery, there is no reason why our population should not have kept pace with that of Ohio, as the census of 1840 exhibits the fact that the slaves of Kentucky increased in a mnch greater ratio than the whites. Again, in 1800 Ohio stood in population as the eighteenth State of the Union, and Kentucky as the fourteenth. The former, in 1860, had advanced to the third rank, and the latter still held the ninth place—the same that she occupied soon after tho census of 1800."

Unanswerable as these arguments are, slavery yet retains enough fanatical worshippers to make the elect[illegible] campaign [illegible]ted, and [illegible] be once [illegible] it will have [illegible]lavery, for the [illegible] States will [illegible] Freedom [illegible]entucky. [illegible]w sorry [illegible] children be to [illegible] fathers were traitors to the greatest and best government on the face of the earth. Oh! Kentucky, Kentucky! a traitorous band has robbed thee of thy fame, and caused thee to stand a boasting do-little coward among the glorious sisterhood of States that shall reflect honor upon the capability of man for self-government, and beckon down-trodden nations to imitate the glory of America.

ABOLITIONISTS AND TRAITORS.

From the World.

A CORRESPONDENT who thinks the seeds of the revolution which Jeff. Davis undertook to lead were sown by the Abolitionists, asks why, if Davis is hung, the Abolitionists should not be hung also. As documentary evidence of their treason, he quotes from Mr. Horace Greeley's "Political Text-Book," published in 1860, the following, which forms one of a series of disunion resolutions drawn by Wm. Lloyd Garrison and passed by an abolition convention, at Albany, in February, 1859:

Resolved, That in advocating the dissolntion of the Union, the Abolitionists are justified hy every precept of the gospel, hy every principle of morality, by every claim of hnmanity; that such a Union is a covenant with death, which ought to he annulled, and an agreement with hell, which a just God cannot permit to stand; and that it is the imperative and paramount duty of all who would keep their souls from blood-guiltiness, to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the spoiler, and usher in the day of jnbilee; to seek its immediate overthrow hy all righteous instrumentalities.

We fear that our correspondent has, in spite of himself, become deeply tinctured with the illiberal and despotic ideas prevalent during the last four years. We must, therefore, remind him that no opinion, nor any public expression of opinion, is justly punishable. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of public meetings, is guaranteed by the Constitution, and is among our most unquestionable rights. Every man in the community is just as free to express the opinion that the Union ought to be dissolved, as he is to express any other opinion whatever. It is a sufficient antidote to absurd and dangerous opinions that all men are as free to refute, as all other men are to propound them.

The difference between Jeff. Davis and Lloyd Garrison which renders the former punishable and the latter not, consists in the fact that Davis took up arms against the Union while Garrison did not. Nothing is treason under our government bnt an overt act of levying war against the United States; a crime which Davis has committed, and which, by a law passed by the first Congress under our government, is made punishable by death. Whether considerations of policy do not require a remission of the penalty if Davis should be convicted, is a question which should be well pondered by the government; but that he has reudered himself liable we suppose there is no room to doubt.

GEN. BUTLER AND THE COLORED PEOPLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

To Major-Gen. B. F. BUTLER.

GENERAL: At a meeting held in this city on the 10th inst., at the Economy Hall, under the auspices of the Caillon League No. 9, it was resolved that an address should be forwarded to Gen. B. F. Bntler, the friend of the poor and the oppressed, as a testimonial of the good wishes of the colored men of Lonisiana toward him.

We, the Committee upon whom has been conferred the honor of sending to yon the good wishes of our people, beg leave to present to you the following address as the sincere expression of their feelings towards you.

Very respectfully,
PAUL TREVIGNE, Chairman,
Capt. ERNEST MORPHY,
CHARLES MARTINEZ.

New Orleans, La., March 10, 1865.

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA TO MAJOR-GEN. B. F. BUTLER.

GENERAL: The colored people of Louisiana, under a proper sense of the good that you have done for the African race in the United States, beg leave to express to you their gratitude. However humble and insignificant this expression may be, they feel it their duty to forward an address, at this time, to the great citizen who has rendered so momentous services to the cause of Union and Liberty, pending this gigantic conflict which has been going on for four years between an arrogant pro-slavery oligarchy and the American Republic.

The colored men of Louisiana will always remember that when you so ably established the reign of justice in the city of New Orleans—the once infamous slave-mart—the institution of slavery that had been left untonched by so many Union Generals, was then by you abolished within the limits of your command; and they will not forget, General, your impartiality in the administration of justice—without any discrimination between the several classes of society—during the time that you remained at the head of the Department of the Gulf. None but the traitor, the malignant, and the mischievous dreaded your power.

Now that, for reasons which we will not attempt to discuss, you have been deprived, by a power to which you have been proved so faithful a servant, of your command of the Army of the James—al-

basis of human slavery, and with the primary and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate human slavery, therefore

Resolved, That no such unholy State should ever be recognized by, or admitted into the family of Christian and civilized nations; and that all Christian and civilized men everywhere should, by all lawful means, resist to the utmost such recognition or admission.

"Perhaps," Mr. Sumner proceeded to say of the late President, "his courage to apply truth was not always equal to his clearness in seeing it. Perhaps the heights that he gained in conscience were not always sustained in conduct. And have not we been told that the soul can gain heights which it cannot keep? Thus, even while blasting Slavery, he still waited, till many feared that his judgment would lose the name of action."

After painting the character of Abraham Lincoln, and showing that his assassination was the work of Slavery, Mr. Sumner made a most impressive appeal for the execution of justice upon the principal in this murder, whatever fate might be adjudged to the various tools that, mediately or immediately, struck the blow. It is on Slavery that vengeance, speedy vengeance, vengeance without mercy, should fall; and the same measure should be dealt to that other pretension, not less irrational, that Human Rights can depend on color.

From this point Mr. Sumner proceeded to show, with great clearness and energy, that the welfare of the country now turns on the colored suffrage in the Rebel States. "*This*," said he, "*is now the pivot of national safety.* The concession of the ballot to the colored man is at once a duty and a necessity; and the United States must insist on the *Equality of all men before the law*, and the *consent of the governed.*"

It is pleasant to record that the audience fully shared the enthusiasm of the speaker, and that frequent applause marked the passages which defined the duty of the present hour. The long and interesting services were appropriately closed by the singing of a hymn, written by Oliver Wendell Holmes for the occasion, and the benediction, pronounced by Rev. Leonard A. Grimes.

In the evening, an audience equally large, and even more demonstrative, assembled in the same place to celebrate the anniversary of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. Judge Russell presided, and made the first address in a very impressive manner. He discussed briefly the question of the principles on which rebel States should be reconstructed, and demanded not only that Slavery should cease, but that every freedman should be clothed with all the rights of a citizen. Rev. A. L. Stone of Park St. Church followed him, making an eloquent plea in behalf of the negro as a fellow-man, a fellow-countryman and a fellow-Christian. Admirable addresses were also made by Judge Bond of Baltimore, Gen. Fisk of St. Louis, and others.

On the whole, our Holy Week has been a blessed and profitable season, stirring up the energies of the people for the anti-slavery work which is yet to come, and giving favorable omen that Congress and the Executive may yet be turned to the concession of that justice to the colored man which is the necessary pre-requisite of our own political salvation.

North.

THE CRIME AND ITS CULMINATION.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Slavery bred a mean and arrogant aristocracy, that despised an association, in government, with men who work for their living, and so it thirsted for separation, and to accomplish it, plunged into rebellion and all the horrors of civil war; and when worsted on the field of public battle, put the final touch to its villany by assassinating the Head of the government it sought for four years to destroy. This was the natural and legitimate culmination of its crime. The rebellion itself was assassination. It was begun for the assassination of the rights and liberties of a whole race that an eternal empire might be built on the foundation of slavery. Its armies were organized assassins, even if they had fought according to the laws of honorable warfare, since they had not one just reason for rebellion against the government which they had themselves assisted in creating and sworn to support, and which they had controlled for their own purposes from the foundation of the Republic. Every death caused by the rebellion has been a murder, and every officer and soldier voluntarily engaging in it, has been a murderer!

But the rebel slaveholders have not conducted their war honorably. With a cruelty and malignity worse than that of savages, they have shot, maimed, and starved our men in their hands as prisoners of war. They have murdered thousands of Union men, living among them, because they would not join them in their treason and murder. Their guerillas have penetrated peaceful villages and assassinated whole families, dragging them from their beds at midnight, and marching away by the light of their dwellings to which they had applied the incendiary torch. Their emissaries have visited our populous cities and sought to burn public buildings filled with innocent and helpless women and children. They have attempted wholesale slaughter by endeavoring to throw railroad trains from their tracks, carrrying commissions from Jeff. Davis to do these deeds in their pockets.

Such has been the spirit of the rebellion. Its leaders have instigated or sanctioned all these crimes. Jeff. Davis, Lee, Hunter, Stephens, and the rest of the leaders of the conspiracy, are directly responsible for every act of cruelty and bloodshed, whether perpetrated by their armies, their guerillas, or their private assassins. The murder of the President is the culmination of the assassin spirit of slavery and rebellion, and is as really the act of Davis, Lee, and their fellow-conspirators, as if their own hands had held the pistol and the dagger of the assassin.

Now what treatment should the government award to the chiefs of the Great Conspiracy?

In the first place, it seems to me, to be manifestly wrong to treat them, in the surrender of their armies, as honorable warriors, entitled to any belligerent rights. The surrender should be without conditions, and the Generals and all the commissioned officers should be tried, either by court-martial, or be turned over to the civil authorities to be punished for their crimes. As they stand in the relation of pirates and murderers to the government, they should be treated by the government in the same manner as it would treat criminals of the character named under other circumstances. Not to do this would be to concede to them certain rights of war which would justify the rebellion itself, and throw the blame of the war on the government. Not to require them to atone for their crime would cast down the majesty of the law, by allowing the greatest criminals to escape while ordinary malefactors are held to a strict account. Many of the rebel military officers are political leaders as well, and some of them were among the first conspirators who, as Senators and Representatives in the United States Congress, initiated secession and rebellion. Shall their having merged the political into the military conspirator shield them from the punishment of treason?

As to Davis and the other members of the rebel government, that they should be outlawed while at large and executed if apprehended, is becoming, I think, the almost unanimous sentiment of the people; since a more lenient policy, inaugurated by our late President, has been responded to, on the part of the traitors, by the treacherous assassination of its author. Yet there are those who still call for a general amnesty, and the indiscriminate liberty of all, both loyal and rebel, to take part in the work of reconstruction.

Those who hold to such sentiments can have no proper views of the vocation of civil government. Its mission is the execution of Justice—to be a "terror to the evil doer." Personal pity is not to usurp the place of judicial authority and discharge the criminal from the custody of the law. Especially is not this to be done, where the crimes are the highest known to the law, as is the case of these authors of "bloody treason." As well might the government ignore the crime of the assassin who took the President's life, and confer honors upon him, as to overlook the crimes of the greater assassins who have led the armies of the rebellion, or plotted for its triumph in the halls of the Confederate Congress, and permit them again to share the privileges of law-abiding citizens. No; these are the "Agags" whom the Lord commands us to "hew in pieces." They are the giant criminals whom "God has appointed to utter destruction," and woe to the Nation if it shall "spare" them.

Then, as to the question of reconstruction of the governments of the rebel States. This must be done on the same principle as that upon which the government should proceed in its treatment of the chiefs of the rebellion. As it should be the object of the government, in disposing of their case, to execute justice and uphold the majesty of righteous law, putting a proper distinction between the innocent and the guilty to the end that right shall be maintained, peace established and future rebellions for slavery and aristocratic domination may be rendered impossible, so, in settling the question of the reorganization of the governments of the rebellious districts, justice should be meted out to the rebels, and freedom, protection, and equal rights secured to all the loyal, without regard to race, condition or color; that thus the crime of injustice and partiality, of which the National government has heretofore been guilty, may not be repeated, and that, by elevating the black man to all the rights of citizenship, a dominant aristocracy at the South may hereafter be an impossibility, and, as a consequence, of the extirpation of that element from Southern society, secession and civil war be made alike impossible.

The mere formal abolishment of slavery by the adoption of the "Constitutional Amendment" will not suffice to secure these results. The infernal *spirit* of slavery, that will survive the success of the "Amendment," must be rooted out, and every political means of oppression and mischief must be put beyond the reach of those in whom the spirit of slavery remains. This can only be done by giving the black men of the South the means of protecting themselves against their old enemies who may be permitted to remain among them. These means of self-protection lie in the possession of the ballot, ownership of the soil and their equal rights, in all respects, with other men, before the law. Then they will have a voice in making and executing the laws by which they are to be governed. Then they can prevent all unfriendly legislation against them. Then they can provide for their own education. Then they can "hold and bear arms," in accordance with the Constitution, for the protection of those rights and privileges which they hold in common with the rest of their fellow-citizens. Nothing less than this will meet their just claim upon the government that they have succored with their patriotism and defended with their blood. Nothing less than this will be a just and righteous retribution to their haughty oppressors; and nothing less than this can secure the peace and permanancy of the Republic. Thus both justice and expediency, alike, demand of the government, death or banishment for the leading rebels, disfranchisement, at least for a period of years, for the lesser criminals, and perfect freedom and enfranchisement of the black men of the South. Let the government do it and it is safe, for God is pledged to its defence and perpetuity; let it refuse to do it, and it shall yet perish, for, in that case, God is equally pledged to its *overthrow.*

New York, May 12, 1865. D. Plumb.

THE REBEL PLOT!

To the Editor of the Standard.

Circumstantial, to say nothing of positive evidence in the recent examination of the notorious Dr. Blackburn, charged with the monstrous villany of introducing yellow-fever and small-pox, as a means to strike down the irresistible loyal North by wholesale epidemic, clearly proves the miserable fallacy of so-called Southern chivalry.

That the Southern rebels were once entitled to great credit for their indomitable resistance to Northern rule, in open and manly combat (although engaged in a hopeless cause to perpetuate negro slavery), no one who has noted their various military successes can deny. But when the rebels fail to be governed by what is termed in modern warfare, *the laws of common humanity*, their resistance to Federal rule *pales* before savage barbarism. The cruelties to the helpless wounded, sick and dying, to say nothing of the tens of thousands of brave white and colored captured Union prisoners at *Castle Thunder, Libby Prison*, and at *Andersonville*, are too sickening to mention. The horrible *massacres* at Fort Pillow, Milliken's Bend, and at Port Hudson; the sacrilegious treatment of the dead bodies of Union soldiers after battle, stains the blackest page in the history of the Southern rebellion, which time can never efface. What next? Jeff. Davis and company, not satisfied with these bloody episodes, change their *infamous base*, and resort to the *cup*, the *dagger*, the *bullet*, and *infectious disease.* Two of which failed. Alas! the third *too* well succeeded in "the deep damnation of" taking the life of *Abraham Lincoln*, the servant of God and the friend of the negro. But what will the rebel traitors

> "Weigh against God yourselves?
> Bring out your scales. Get in man, by man,
> Add earth, heaven, hell, the universe; that's all:
> God puts his finger in the other scale,
> And up you bounce, a bubble."

With regard to Dr. Blackburn & Co.'s vile attempt to spread broadcast over the land, yellow-fever and small-pox, your readers will perhaps remember that the *small-pox* was mysteriously introduced into Washington in 1863. Thousands of Union soldiers were struck down with the pestilence, and thousands died. And also the *innoculating* of Union prisoners with the loathsome *virus* too disgusting to mention. Also, please bear in mind that our lamented President, Abraham Lincoln, had a severe attack of varioloid, and was at one time almost beyond the hope of recovery. In fact, the telegraph more than once announced his death.

Again, remember that in the appeals made to friends tons of cast-off clothing were sent to all parts of the South for the freed slaves. From all parts of the country the call was responded to. *Query*, Was not this a splendid opportunity for the notorious Dr. Blackburn and his wicked compeers to put in practice their hell-concocted scheme? And does not the *exposé* recently made, fully justify my conclusions? Judge ye! Again I would ask, What next? The answer is already at hand in the simultaneous incendiary rebel attempt last December to set fire to New York city, and adding thereto the horrible crime of destroying thousands of innocent lives in the terrible conflagration. Oh! my heart sickens when I reflect on what I thought would be the *finale* to this great American tragedy, viz: The assassination of President Lincoln and all the heads of the Departments! Now, "I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet," but I was so fully convinced from sad experience as one of the sufferers of the July riots (not yet indemnified) that the rebels were capable of committing atrocities, not found in the catalogue of crimes, that my premonitions impelled me to pen President Lincoln the following letter from Boston:

Boston, Dec. 5, 1864.

Most Excellent Sir: The late attempt of rebel emissaries to get up a general conflagration in the city of New York having proved a failure, doubtless an effort will be made to reënact Guy Fawkes's horrible gunpowder plot, by blowing up the Capitol, as well as all government buildings in Washington, to say nothing of the White House. Would it not be as well to go through the English custom of searching the basement of all public buildings, not once, but every day? These being my fears, I could not close my eyes without giving you this caution. Excuse the liberty taken in writing you these few lines; and with sentiments of esteem, I subscribe, my dear sir,

Your very obedient servant,

To *his Excellency* Abraham Lincoln, *President of the United States.*

I had just finished writing this letter, when my son said he remembered reading in pencil mark, this singular prediction on the walls of the Capitol last Spring, viz: "The day will come when there shall not be one stone left upon another of this" Capitol.

Young Africa.

WESTERN CORRESPONDENCE.

[Extract of a private letter from a gentleman in Illinois:]

Ottawa, La Salle County, Illinois, May 24th, 1864.

"I have taken the ground, some six weeks ago, in favor of no reconstruction except on the basis of equal rights of suffrage to the negro. That this is the only ground of safety as well as justice, I have no shadow of doubt. Political *necessity* now demands the ballot for the negro, as military necessity demanded the bayonet for him. This is the ground of the Union party in this State. The Chicago *Tribune* and several members of Congress have already committed themselves to this. There is, however, to be a new journal, to be called the Chicago *Republican*, started in Chicago about the first of June, the object of which will be the organization of a new party composed of the remains of the Democratic and the negro-hating and whiskey-drinking part of the Union party. What success will attend this effort, and how far and wide the scheme extends, I cannot tell. But I am very apprehensive that the pro-slavery element North and South will soon unite, as of old, and fight to the last the proposed extension of the elective franchise to the negro. The Irish vote, of course, will be with this pro-slavery party if ever organized. We must have the negro vote to put into the scale to balance the Irish vote in the National elections; and in order to keep rebels out of Congress, the reconstructed States will need the vote of the loyal negro. To keep off a hungry horde of spoliation and other claimants against this government, we need the vote of the loyal negro; to prevent a future revolution, and the necessity of a standing army we need the citizenship of the negro."

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

[Deficiencies and errors in the following report may be explained by the facts that the person to whose lot it has fallen to prepare it was not present at the commencement of the meeting—that his part heretofore has been merely to assist in such work, without pre-arranging, superintending and completing it—and that he did not discover that he was to be principal instead of assistant until the meeting had been some time in progress.—c. k. w.]

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention met according to appointment, at the Melodeon, on Wednesday, May 31st, at 10 o'clock, a.m. It commenced punctually at that hour, with a much larger attendance than usual at the beginning. The Convention was called to order by Edmund Quincy, who is reported by the *Advertiser* as speaking substantially as follows:

In compliance with long-established custom, as President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, I have the honor to initiate the organization of this Convention by calling it to order. The duty of calling the New England Anti-Slavery Convention together, and of making arrangements for it, has always been intrusted to the Board of Managers of that Society. When the question of whether the Convention should be called this year came before that Board, I opposed and voted against it for these reasons: Slavery being actually abolished everywhere excepting in Delaware and Kentucky, and virtually there, and the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment being as certain as the continued existence of the nation, it seemed to me that the holding of an Anti-Slavery Convention could be of no possible practical advantage, while its proceedings might be but too likely, judging from recent experiences, to reflect but little credit on the glorious cause now swallowed up in victory. The Board of Managers, however, by a majority of one, voted to hold the meeting. The Society it represents, though its function is ended by the accomplishment of its object, having yet a technical existence until its affairs can be wound up, I am here, as its President, to perform the formal duty which has always attached to the office. That duty performed, my business here is at an end, as I do not propose becoming a member of the Convention. It is now for the meeting to take such measures as it may see fit to effect its organization.

A Committee to nominate officers of the Convention was then appointed, consisting of Messrs. Phillips, Sargent, Everett, Foss, and Hovey. While they were deliberating, Mr. Ezekiel Thacher of Yarmouth Port (one of the twelve persons who, in 1831 or thereabouts, met in Boston to form an Anti-Slavery Society for New England), addressed the meeting, giving reminiscences, reflections, and congratulations.

The Nominating Committee reported the following list of officers of the Convention:

President.—Bourne Spooner of Plymouth.

Vice-Presidents.—Rev. John T. Sargent of Boston, Joshua T. Everett of Princeton.

Secretaries.—Rev. Samuel May, Jr., and C. K. Whipple.

The report of the Committee being accepted and adopted, Mr. Quincy resigned the Chair, which (by Mr. Spooner's wish) was taken and held throughout the meetings by Mr. Sargent.

Rev. Samuel May, Jr., asked to be excused from serving as Secretary. On motion, his request was granted, and Stephen S. Foster was chosen in his place. Mr. Foster said that other business would absolutely prevent his performing the duties of Secretary, but at length consented to let his name stand.

A Business Committee was appointed, consisting of Wendell Phillips, Joshua T. Everett, William A. Hovey, Charles Lenox Remond, and Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam.

They retired to the ante-room for deliberation, and Mr. Thacher resumed his remarks until their return.

The Chairman of the Business Committee reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention hereby expresses the decisive, settled opinion that any reconstruction of a rebel State, without negro suffrage, is a practical surrender to the Confederacy, and will make the anti-slavery proclamation of the late President, and even the expected amendment to the United States Constitution, utterly inefficient for the freedom and protection of the negro race.

Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., seconded the resolution, declared his hearty endorsement of it, and hoped it would be accepted by the Convention. He wished that the whole subject of suffrage might now come up before the country for consideration. He thought the right of voting for women ought now to be considered, but at all events the right of the negro to suffrage should be vehemently and firmly insisted on. Mr. May reported a most interesting conversation which he had held with Hon. Horace Maynard of Tennessee, who said that we could not afford to wait for the instruction of the colored man before giving him the ballot. His power of voting needed at once to be exercised, for the safety of the nation.

Mr. King, of Kansas, said he had been surprised that any person at the recent meeting in New York had proposed the dissolution of the Anti-Slavery Society. He thought, on the contrary, that now was a time for increased and intensified work. The question is whether the elements that had *made* American slavery are still in active operation among us; and if they are, whether we are to labor to counteract them. The prejudice against the negro is still active, and shows itself in opposition to his voting. Mr. King proceeded to state very forcibly his belief that the real conflict is now before us, and that the rights of black men, and white men, and women, are now to be acted on. He wished that our people could be made to understand that it is not safe to trample on the rights of *anybody.*

Wendell Phillips was the next speaker. The real topic, he said, which ought to engage the attention of this Convention, is Mr. Maynard's sentiment repeated to us this morning by Mr. May. Immediate suffrage for the negro is the work demanded alike by justice to him and safety for us. The North Carolina Proclamation of the President was the entrance upon a policy full of disaster to the country. Every lover of justice and freedom should openly repudiate it. Reconstruction upon that basis would be a practical fraud on the North.

I look on reconstruction based on white suffrage as but another name for the assumption by the nation of the Confederate debt. The two things are parts of the same whole. No man acquainted with the present mood of the white race at the South believes that its representatives in Congress will ever vote to pay our present debt or its interest, unless theirs is included. That is one feature of reconstruction on a white basis. We are to plunge into that gulf of war debt which now threatens to swallow up the European nations. Much of their war debt was fraudulently imposed on a people unable either to resist or protest, and, in my opinion, whenever the masses there obtain their rights, they will properly and justly repudiate much of those debts.

Any imposition upon us of that Confederate debt, carried by means of white suffrage reconstruction, will be a fraud upon the people. Mr. Sumner's resolves, adopted by Congress, have attempted a barrier: an insufficient one, I fear, if this plan of reconstruction on a white basis be adopted. For myself I protest in advance against both parts of this one measure, white rebel suffrage and the assumption of rebel debts, as fraud on the people. Fraud vitiates all contracts. A man or a minority may be bound by national acts to which they silently submit; but not by those against whose validity they protest at the time. I, for one, here avow my purpose to be bound by no such fraud, however covered up. I shall, life-long, advocate repudiation of any rebel debt adopted by any such reconstructed Congress. I shall hold myself at liberty to coöperate with any party which puts on its banner, "Repudiation of all rebel debts," no matter how sacredly such a bastard Congress may have assumed them. I invite others to join me in this avowal, till it swells to a national protest, and becomes fair and sufficient warning to all creditors.

The condition of the black man at the South is at present in utter uncertainty. Can he hold a title to land? Nobody knows. Can he protect his wife? Nobody knows. Can he testify in a Court of Justice? Nobody knows. None of his rights, natural or civil, are assured to him. The white men of each Southern State claim the right of settling all those matters. The Legislature of Tennessee has just passed a law concerning free colored people. Do they enact laws concerning free white people? All that concerns the colored people there, is to be regulated by the whites. What will those whites do when their States are reconstructed without the negro franchise? One of them has frankly told us, boasting to a Union man that the slaveholders would yet have the substantial fruits of victory, though they had been defeated in the field. They would unite (he said) with the old Democratic party, when the last Congress of Johnson's Presidency should come, and then they would show the Union men who had really been whipped in this last hour of the war. The negro race would be kept, practically, in the condition of serfs, bound to the soil. The first admission of a seceded State without black suffrage would settle the whole question, and then slavery would exist in reality, though not in name.

If negro suffrage, Mr. Phillips proceeded to say, shall be forbidden at the South, the North will have been practically conquered. Every drop of blood will have been spilled, and every dollar expended, in vain. Threats have already been made that reconstruction will be put through next winter on an anti-negro basis, in spite of all opposition. This will be the great question of the next Congressional session. This very Spring, Mr. Sumner said to Mr. Lincoln—"Louisiana must be reconstructed on the basis of the Declaration of Independence." (Applause.) Mr. Lincoln hesitated, and did not reply; and Mr. Sumner said—"Mr. President, if you reconstruct it on any other basis, count me as an opponent." (Loud applause.) That is the true position for every friend of a permanent Union and of permanent freedom to take, and to stand by firmly. Far better that Grant had surrendered to Lee, than that the President should surrender to North Carolina or Louisiana, and nullify all the sacrifices, losses, and sufferings of this dreadful struggle.

Rev. Samuel J. May, Henry C. Wright, and others, rose to ask questions or make explanations in the course of Mr. Phillips's speech. Mr. Wright thought he had never used a certain expression which had been imputed to him. Mr. Earle, however, asserted confidently that he had heard it from him on the occasion referred to, at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention of last year. After these explanations, Mr. Phillips proceeded with his remarks, and closed them by saying—I don't want m u s speeches, I want their *votes*, their *action.*

On motion of S. S. Foster it was voted that Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam be one of the Secretaries of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Everett, a Finance Committee was appointed, consisting of Mrs. A. K. Foster, Elbridge Sprague, and Nathaniel Spooner.

Mr. King, of Kansas, made some further remarks in reference to the calumnious statement that the negro could not take care of himself. He wished to state a significant and encouraging fact about those of the freedmen who are settled in his region. They are industrious, frugal, and honest; the agriculture of Douglas County is mainly in their hands, and it is so managed as to be a credit to them.

Mrs. Foster spoke on the financial question, urging the importance of active operations and of liberal contributions to sustain them. Vast sums are now expended in charity to the negro, and if we pursue only this method, more and more will still be required. But if we give *justice* to the negro, there will be no more need of charity for him. Mrs. Foster moved that the money raised by this Convention, beyond its expenses, be paid to the American Anti-Slavery Society. The question being put by the President, it was so voted without dissent.

Mrs. Abby Folsom, who had repeatedly interrupted the speakers and disturbed the proceedings of the meeting, in spite of repeated warnings from the President to desist, was now removed from the platform by the Superintendent of the Hall.

Hon. Amasa Walker, of Brookfield, was the next speaker. The great point, he said, is to know whether the negro shall have the right of suffrage. The people must rise in their strength and demand that he *shall* have this right. The old prejudice will of course raise its voice in opposition; but we have struggled against and overcome several departments of this prejudice. The negro has been made free, and has been allowed to fight for us. He has helped us to win the victory, which, indeed, could not have been won without him. Now we come to the moral struggle, and that promises to be yet more severe. We must struggle and suffer until this point is gained. I think we have the Bull Run of this moral contest in President Johnson's North Carolina Proclamation. Our work now is to raise a moral sentiment which shall compel the government to act in the right direction. Mr. Walker strongly praised the position of Mr. Sumner, as reported in Mr. Phillips's speech. He fervently hoped, and expected, that the next Congress would pursue the policy indicated in Mr. Sumner's words. In the meantime, money should be raised largely to send forth lecturers and documents among the people.

Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, then spoke. He regretted that Mrs. Foster's remarks on Finance were not heard by the whole audience. Money was urgently needed, for the work to be done was vast and pressing. He was impatient, deeply impatient, at the continuance of the wrongs inflicted by the community upon the colored people. He thought the work now proposed the most important that had come before the anti-slavery public. He doubted whether anything had really been gained by the Emancipation proclamation. Spending a part of last Winter in Virginia, he saw no evidence of a satisfactory state of things there. Every State, and city, and town, needs to be visited and exhorted to take an active part in this moral contest. The cause of the black man cannot yet be left in the hands of the masses of the community, South or North.

Charles C. Burleigh, of Florence, Mass., agreed with the previous speakers that the true crisis of the nation was now pending. He spoke of the method of reconstruction proposed by President Johnson in North Carolina, clearly displayed the vast loss and evil that would result from its adoption, considered the objection in regard to intelligence as a qualification for voting, and showed that, if this educational test should be established in the South, the white people there would oppose the negro's education expressly for that reason. He wished it to be understood that black men should have the vote because they are *men.*

The Convention then adjourned to 3 p. m.

Afternoon Session.

At the appointed hour Mr. Sargent took the chair, and a song was sung, much to the gratification of the audience, by the Hutchinson family.

After a reading of the resolution before the meeting, Mr. Bradley, of Boston, who described himself as a South Carolina negro, made some criticisms on the proclamation of President Johnson in regard to North Carolina.

Mr. William B. Earle of Boston strongly supported the resolution. He said that no key-note of any such method of reconstruction as would be safe for the country had yet reached his ear. The Amendment to the Constitution now pending would do nothing for the colored man but to put his rights on the same footing as those of the Abolitionists for the last thirty years, namely, to depend on the consent of the friends of slavery. There was danger, he thought, now that the war was ended, that the rights of Massachusetts would be given away again. Andrew Johnson had no more right to order an election in North Carolina than in Massachusetts. His only right is to provide a military government until the Congress of the United States shall provide a civil government. If that region is a State, the President has no business there; and his late action is an usurpation of power.

The next speaker was Stephen S. Foster of Worcester. The object of these meetings heretofore, he said, has been the establishment of liberty, having for its general object the equality of all men before the law, and for its particular purpose the abolition of slavery in the United States. Now, the right of the negro to suffrage is the one question of paramount importance. Mr. Foster enforced this point with his usual energy, severely criticizing President Johnson, and praising Charles Sumner as the only faithful man in the Senate. To him it was owing that Louisiana was not now in the Union. In the course of this speech Mr. Foster was interrupted by several persons with comments and questions, but he patiently heard and replied to each. He closed by saying: There will not be one hour of peace in this country until the negro has the ballot. Until that consummation comes, there will be continuous civil war.

Rev. Samuel J. May wished to express, before leaving, his earnest determination to labor that the rights of all men may be made certain, established beyond question. Unless we live up to that idea, we shall have no peace, and we shall deserve none. What is our duty in the present crisis? Is it not to examine most carefully any proposed method of reconstruction, and see that not a fibre of the slave system, or of the prejudice to which that system gave birth, shall be left in it? If our Constitution is not yet perfect, let us now make it so. Let us still go on agitating this question until the rights of the colored man are secure. And of women too—he added, at the suggestion of some one in the audience.

On motion, Mr. R. P. Hallowell was added to the Finance Committee.

Mr. Phillips, in behalf of the Business Committee, read a second resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That we claim of the political leaders, of all parties, that they plant themselves in open and constant opposition to any policy which accepts reconstruction on such partial basis [the exclusion of negro suffrage]; and that, in our opinion, any such reconstruction will sacrifice half of what the war has fairly earned.

Mr. Phillips proceeded to speak upon the resolution, first saying, in regard to the action of the Finance Committee (who were then beginning their tour of collection), that pecuniary aid, enabling the Abolitionists to enlarge their sphere of operation, was now of immense importance.

The President of the Convention here read the following letter from Theodore Tilton, who had intended to speak at the evening session, but, being suddenly called away, had sent this letter as a substitute.

Marlboro House, Boston, May 31.

Mr. Sargent, Chairman—*My Dear Friend:* As an unexpected duty calls me immediately away from Boston, let me borrow *your* lips to say to the friends who this morning called for my opinion, that my opinion is this:

First, demand the immediate passage of the Constitutional Amendment.

Second, demand the immediate investiture of the negro with the elective franchise.

On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

President Johnson's proclamation denying negro suffrage in North Carolina is as great a delinquency as President Lincoln's proclamation of Sept. 22d, 1862. It cannot be justified by Abolitionists—it cannot be accepted as the groundwork of reconstruction.

I think the true method of reconstruction is this:

Leave the conquered States under military government until their loyalty is proved sufficient to be entrusted with *civil* government. Meanwhile, let the military authority in each State make an enrolled list of all loyal citizens, without distinction of color, including both old residents, and new settlers: and then let the loyal citizens thus enrolled, and no others, but all these, represent themselves in a Constitutional Convention, and make a Constitution which, if possible, shall outshine that of Massachusetts.

What I lately saw in South Carolina makes me *shudder* at the thought of stripping the negroes of their just and needful protection by ballot against their former masters.

I join myself, therefore, to those who will not rest, day or night, until the peaceful weapon of the ballot be lodged in the negro's hand.

This triumph achieved, we may then go to sleep a little while—just long enough to be refreshed for the next great question which God has in store for this nation—which is, *the ballot in the hand of woman.*

Ever yours, Theodore Tilton.

The venerable Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, then made a brief address to the Convention. She had been greatly interested, she said, in attending this meeting. She wished to speak of her regret that some who have been accustomed to take part in gatherings like this (and especially the great Reformer and Liberator) are not here present. She was greatly interested in the movement which was chiefly agitated in this meeting, and hoped that the instrumentality of Petition would not be forgotten, a work in which women also could labor. The works of Abby Kelley Foster, of Angelina Grimke, and of Sallie Holley bear witness to the efficiency of women's aid. She had been sorry to hear Wendell Phillips's eulogy of the influences of war. Moral influences, she thought, should be rather employed, and were far more fruitful of good. We must not cease from our labors, nor lose confidence in God's blessing on them.

Let petitions and remonstrances still be circulated. But let us remember with gratitude the [illegible] already been done, both by g[illegible] men's Associations. These[illegible] fulness. Let us continue to[illegible] we bring others to the righ[illegible] sentiment of the country be raised to the true standard. Especially should we be mindful to do this work on religious grounds, and in a religious spirit, which is far different from a sectarian spirit.

Mr. C. C. Coffin (Carleton, the distinguished correspondent of the *Journal*) gave a very interesting account of the valor of some of the colored troops before Petersburg, who only failed in the capture of it (he said) through the fault of a West Point officer. Mr. Coffin spoke of the necessity of constant agitation to make a public sentiment which shall require public functionaries to do justice to the negro. He gave some valuable testimony in regard to the hatred of Southern whites in Washington against the blacks, and described the need of assiduous and constant action, in this transition period, in favor of the rights of the negro.

Mr. Phillips here said a few words of the very important aid given to the cause of the colored people by the facts concerning them published in the letters of Carleton.

An original song was then sung by the Hutchinson Family, and the Convention adjourned to a quarter before 8, p. m.

Evening Session.

Mr. Sargent in the chair.

William Wells Brown made a few opening remarks, declaring his full agreement with the ideas of Mr. Phillips in regard to the reconstruction of the rebel States. Though the system of slavery was perhaps broken, the colored people of the South could not live there in peace and prosperity if the old slaveholding class shall still bear rule. Already that class is showing its evil dispositions and evil intentions, persecuting the blacks and all other Unionists. It would be grossly unjust in the government, after using the important services of the negroes in the war, to leave them to the hostile and embittered feelings of the ex-slaveholders. Now is the very moment in which this matter should be urged. Every effort should be used to settle it on the right basis *now.*

John Parker (a black man who represents himself as a fugitive from the rebel army) felt "glad to stand here on this solemn occasion," and gave some specimens of his experience of prejudice both South and North.

The Hutchinson Family then favored the audience with another song, after which

Andrew T. Foss said—One thing is admitted by all, that the colored people throughout the country have behaved well, and are entitled to our respect and gratitude; also, that they have been treated very shabbily. We freed the negro, not at the call of justice, but at that of military necessity. We called him to be a soldier when we could no otherwise conquer. Then we refused to give the promised payment. Now it is proposed to deprive him of the right of voting, and to reconstruct the government in such a manner as to leave him out in the cold. But the negro has conquered and made progress up to this time, and I believe he will conquer yet.

I believe slavery is dead, or just about to die. But we must be quite *sure* that it is dead before we discontinue the assault upon it. All Abolitionists, and a large majority of the Republican party, are in favor of full citizenship and equality before the law for the colored people. I think an overwhelming majority throughout the country will take this ground, and are ready to work for it. To tie the hands of the blacks and give freedom of action to the rebels would be suicidal. I say, let no State be admitted which does not give every man his rights.

Charles L. Remond, of Salem, was the next speaker. He doubted about the majority which, his friend Mr. Foss thought, were ready to give the colored man his rights. Certainly the Southern whites do not take this ground, and Illinois, Connecticut, and New Jersey are utterly opposed to it. Even in Boston, a colored man cannot sit in the jury-box.

Mrs. Foster proposed further action of the Finance Committee, both to defray the expenses of this meeting, and to give further opportunity for donations and pledges to the American Anti-Slavery Society. We need a course of thorough agitation, and we ask large means for the agencies needful for it. Mrs. F. moved that Cornelia Nowell be added to the Finance Committee, which was voted.

Charles C. Burleigh wished to correct a statement of Mr. Remond. Connecticut is not *standing* in opposition to negro suffrage, but is in a state of transition, and will probably soon take the right ground. Mr. Burleigh went on to speak of certain illogical features in President Johnson's proclamation in regard to North Carolina. By rebellion, the Southern States forfeited their *rights* under the Federal government, but did not escape their *obligations* to it. If the old North Carolina Constitution holds, in regard to voters, the President has no right to send his Military Governor there at all. On the other hand, if it does not hold, he has power to regulate matters there in conformity with justice, and to disregard the old prejudices which slaveholders had incorporated with their laws.

Mr. Burleigh proceeded to show that as soon as the old Constitution of North Carolina was set aside by rebellion, the rules of justice and right resumed their natural force there, and every man was entitled to his share of their natural operation. According to these rules of justice, the black and white inhabitants of North Carolina now stand on the same ground.

Mr. Phillips offered resolution No. 3 from the Business Committee, as follows:

Resolved, That we gratefully recognize the emphatic earnestness with which the pulpits of New England have claimed negro suffrage as an indispensable element in any scheme of reconstruction; and that we hope they will as emphatically let the Administration know that they will accept no reconstruction which denies that right, and will let every party that advocates it feel the full power of their rebuke and opposition.

Mr. Phillips proceeded to speak upon the immense importance of a right direction of the movement for reconstruction, urging the same points as in the previous sessions, with some new forms of illustration.

A fourth resolution was then offered, namely:

Resolved, That John T. Sargent, R. P. Hallowell, and Mrs. S. J. Nowell, be a Committee to confer with the managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in regard to a meeting at Framingham on the next 4th day of July, and to take such measures on the subject as they deem fit.

Mr. Sargent announced that he saw Miss Anna E. Dickinson in the house, and at his request she came forward to speak a few words. She said she was here to-night because she wished to identify herself with the people who are not willing to take half way measures, and who propose not merely the removal of slavery as a fact, but also as an idea. She thought it an honor to stand, and to work, by the side of Wendell Phillips, in a struggle like that now going on.

On motion, it was unanimously voted that the resolutions be now adopted.

A parting song, sung in a very spirited manner by the Hutchinsons, was heartily applauded, and the Convention adjourned.

S. S. Foster,
C. K. Whipple,
C. R. Putnam, } Secretaries.

DEATH OF THOMAS HAMILTON, PUBLISHER OF THE ANGLO-AFRICAN.

At a solemn meeting of persons attending the funeral of Mr. Thomas Hamilton, convened at the public school-house in the village of Jamaica, on Wednesday, May 31, 1865, Mr. Alexander Elston was appointed Chairman, and Mr. John J. Zuille, Secretary.

The object of the meeting having been stated, a Committee of seven gentlemen were appointed to draft resolutions of condolence with the family of Mr. Hamilton, and expressive of the public grief in his demise.

The Committee made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Death has again been busy, and has taken from us suddenly Thomas Hamilton, our friend and co-laborer; therefore

Resolved, That the colored people, whom we represent, have in the decease of Thomas Hamilton lost a best friend and a most earnest laborer; the country, a devoted upholder; and the world, an honest man!

Resolved, That we, and the people generally, have lost not only a friend, but one of those untiring heroes, who, however quietly they labor, lift the people as they lift themselves, and batter down even the brazen doors which oppose the people's progress.

Resolved, That while we see in this dispensation of Providence, another evidence of the uncertainty of life, we also regard it as a trumpet call to put forth, while we can, re-[illegible] deceased [illegible] or to imitate [illegible] devotion to the [illegible] friend repre-[illegible]

Resolved, That we, whose names are hereunto annexed, representing interests as deeply concerned as we, would hereby tender to the widow and the afflicted family, and to the public generally, our tenderest sympathy in this trying hour.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the widow and family of the deceased, and to the leading newspapers for publication.

Wm. P. Powell, Rev. S. N. Berry, Dr. P. W. Ray, D. Rosell, Rev. J. M. Williams, P. Guignon, Wm. Howard Day, Committee.

Alex. Elston, Chairman.

Wm. Howard Day, Secretary.

The Summer Street Chapel Church, of Worcester, Henry L. Cheever, Pastor, unanimously adopted the following Paper on the late National Fast Day:

Resolved, That we stand in solemn and adoring awe of Almighty God, who has suffered the late expiring act of slavery (while putting a nation to grief for the honored dead) to reveal to the world its own inherent baseness, as well as that of the malignant rebellion naturally born of it, and its just desert of the felon's doom.

And as expressing now the common Christian sense of the loyal nation, and the plain requisition of Christianity itself, we deem it proper to declare on this National Fast Day, that as a Christian Church, we will sustain the National government in the exercise of rigid justice upon leading traitors, and in the exaction of the right of suffrage for the entire body of freedmen, in all the States lately in rebellion; so that there may be secured to the people of those States a republican form of government and the equality of all men before the law.

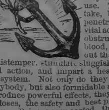
From the Washington Correspondent of the Tribune, June 5.

The returned rebels are resuming their chivalrous habits in Baltimore. Major G. Hines, of a South Carolina Battery, was arrested yesterday and sent to the lock-up, for petit larceny and other depredations, by Provost-Marshal Woolley, of Gen. Wallace's staff. One of these Southern gentlemen knocked down one of Gen. Grant's aids the other night and relieved him of his money—an expression of gratitude, probably, for the liberality which the Lieutenant-General showed in paroling Lee's men and permitting them to "return to their homes."

One of the prominent political leaders of the rebellion, now in this city, and one who is excepted from President Johnson's amnesty, remarked in conversation yesterday that if the victorious North intends to impress its ideas of State subordination and free labor on the Southern people, it will have to disfranchise for a term of years, all who have taken part with the rebellion; and the longer such a measure is delayed, the further off will be the era of political harmony in this country. This is the conclusion, also, at which some of the soundest men in Washington set to thinking anew by the disgraceful attitude of affairs in Virginia.

The President and Secretary McCulloch have been in occasional conference for some weeks, considering the financial condition and reorganization of the Southern States. They seem at last to have resolved to divide those States into districts convenient for asssessment and collection, and to supercede, as far as the condition of those sections will permit of it, the Tax Commissioners who have been serving during the last two years in the collection of unpaid taxes and the sale of rebel lands. In accordance with this policy the South has just been divided into the following number of districts by States: Virginia four, North Carolina three, South Carolina three, Georgia four, Alabama three, Mississippi three, Texas four. Tennessee has been cut north and south into two districts, but will be sub-divided into five or six more. Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas, are yet to be divided. In all these districts assessors and collectors are to be appointed as early as is practicable, the appointees to be residents of the several districts in all cases when loyal and capable men can be found.

AYER'S CATHARTIC PILLS



Are the most perfect purgative which we are able to produce or which we think has ever yet been made by anybody. Their effects have abundantly shown to the community how much they excel the ordinary medicines in use. They are safe and pleasant to take, but powerful to cure. Their penetrating properties stimulate the vital activities of the body, remove the obstructions of its organs, purify the blood, and expel disease. They purge out the foul humors which breed and grow distemper, stimulate sluggish or disordered organs into their natural action, and impart a healthy tone with strength to the whole system. Not only do they cure the every-day complaints of everybody, but also formidable and dangerous diseases. While they produce powerful effects, they are at the same time, in diminished doses, the safety and best physic that can be employed for children. Being sugar-coated, they are pleasant to take; and, being purely vegetable, are free from any risk of harm. Cures have been made which surpass belief, were they not substantiated by men of such exalted position and character, as to forbid the suspicion of untruth. Many eminent clergymen and physicians have lent their names to certify to the public the reliability of our remedies, while others have sent us the assurance of their conviction that, our Preparations contribute immensely to the relief of our afflicted, suffering fellow-men.

The Agent below named is pleased to furnish gratis our American Almanac, containing directions for the use and certificates of their cures, of the following complaints:

Costiveness, Bilious Complaints, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Heartburn, Headache arising from foul stomach, Nausea, Indigestion, Morbid Inaction of the Bowels and Pain arising therefrom, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, all Diseases which require an evacuant medicine. They also, by purifying the blood and stimulating the system, cure many complaints which it would not be supposed they could reach, such as Deafness, Partial Blindness, Neuralgia and Nervous Irritability, Derangements of the Liver and Kidneys, Gout, and other kindred complaints arising from a low state of the body, or obstruction of its functions.

Do not be put off by unprincipled dealers with other preparations which they make more profit on. Demand Ayer's and take no others. The sick want the best aid there is for them, and they should have it.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and dealers in medicine everywhere.

5—2m.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE HOUR OF NORTHERN VICTORY.

BY FANNY KEMBLE.

Roll not a drum, sound not a clarion-note
 Of haughty triumph to the silent sky;
Hushed be the shout of joy in every throat,
 And veiled the flash of pride in every eye.

Not with *Te Deums* loud and high Hosannas,
 Greet we the awful victory we have won,
But with our arms reversed and lowered banners
 We stand—our work is done!

Thy work is done, God, terrible and just,
 Who lay'dst upon our heart and hands this task,
And kneeling, with our foreheads in the dust,
 We venture Peace to ask.

Bleeding and writhing underneath our sword,
 Prostrate our brethren lie, Thy fallen foe,
Struck down by Thee, through us avenging Lord—
 By Thy dread hand laid low.

For our own guilt have we been doomed to smite
 These our own kindred Thy great laws defying,
These, our own flesh and blood, who now unite
 In one thing only with us—bravely dying.

Dying how bravely, yet how bitterly!
 Not for the better side, but for the worse,
Blindly and madly striving against Thee,
 For the bad cause where Thou hast set Thy curse.

At whose defeat we may not raise our voice,
 Save in the deep thanksgiving of our prayers,
"Lord! we have fought the fight!" But to rejoice
 Is ours no more than theirs.

Call back Thy dreadful ministers of wrath
 Who have led on our hosts to this great day:
Let our feet halt now in the avenger's path,
 And bid our weapons stay.

Upon our land, Freedom's inheritance,
 Turn Thou once more the splendor of Thy face,
Where nations serving Thee to light advance,
 Give us again our place.

Not our bewildering past prosperity,
 Not all thy former ill-requited grace,
But this one boon—Oh! grant us still to be
 The home of Hope to the whole human race.

April 25, 1865. —(*London*) *Spectator.*

SENATOR SUMNER'S EULOGY ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From the Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln delivered before the municipal authorities of Boston on the day of national humiliation and prayer appointed by President Johnson, by the Hon. Charles Sumner, the following extracts are made. After a brief introductory, Mr. Sumner said:

"For the second time in our history, the country has been summoned by the President to unite, on an appointed day, in commemorating the character and services of the dead. The first was on the death of George Washington, when, as now, a day was set apart for simultaneous eulogy throughout the land, and cities, towns and villages, all vied in tribute. More than half a century has passed since this early service in memory of the Father of his country, and now it is repeated in memory of Abraham Lincoln.

"Thus are Washington and Lincoln associated in the grandeur of their obsequies. But this association is not accidental. It is from the nature of the case, and because the part which Lincoln was called to perform resembled in character the part which was performed by Washington. The work left undone by Washington was continued by Lincoln. Kindred in service, kindred in patriotism, each was naturally surrounded at death by kindred homage. One sleeps in the East, and the other sleeps in the West; and thus, in death, as in life, one is the complement of the other.

"The two might be compared after the manner of Plutarch: but it will be enough for the present if [illegible] origin, conversation and character, they were unlike also in the *ideas* which they served, except so far as each was the servant of his country. The war conducted by Washington was unlike the war conducted by Lincoln—as the peace which crowned the arms of the one was unlike the peace which began to smile upon the other. The two wars did not differ in the scale of operations, and in the tramp of mustered hosts, more than in the ideas involved. The first was for National Independence; the second was to make the Republic one and indivisible, on the indestructible foundations of Liberty and Equality. The first only cut the connection with the mother country, and opened the way to the duties and advantages of popular government. *The second will have failed unless it performs all the original promises of that declaration which our fathers took upon their lips when they became a nation.* In the relation of cause and effect the first was the natural precursor and herald of the second. National Independence was the first epoch in our history, and such was its importance that Lafayette boasted to the First Consul of France, that though its battles were but skirmishes, they decided the fate of the world.

The comparison of the lives of Washington and Lincoln is further continued, and the two wars in which they were respectively engaged are also contrasted with great force; and the address goes on with a sketch of Mr. Lincoln's life, particularly as to the development of his moral traits and a very ample disquisition upon his political views as they took shape and color from time to time, as influenced by current events. The memorable discussion with Stephen A. Douglas is also reproduced, and Mr. Lincoln's part therein is summarized in the following:

"But the topic to which the future President returned with the most frequency, and to which he clung with all the grasp of his soul, was the *practical character of the Declaration of Independence in announcing the Liberty and Equality of all men.* These were no idle words, but substantial truth, binding on the conscience of mankind. I know not if this grand pertinacity has been noticed before, but I deem it my duty to say, that to my mind it is by far the most important feature of that controversy, and one of the most interesting incidents in the biography of the speaker. The words which he then uttered live after him, and no one can hear of that championship without feeling a new motive to fidelity in the cause of Liberty and Equality."

Copious extracts from the speeches made in the campaign of 1854 are introduced, to show the consistency and entireness of Mr. L's anti-slavery views. The address proceeds with a notice of Mr. L's address in the Cooper Institute, in February, 1860, vindicating the policy of the Fathers of the Republic, and the principles of the Republican party, and then says:

"A few months later this champion, who would not see the colored man shut out from the promises of the Declaration of Independence, and who insisted upon the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, after summoning his countrymen to dare to do their duty, was nominated by a great political party as their candidate for President of the United States. Local considerations, securing to him the support of certain States beyond any other candidate, exercised a final influence in determining his selection; but it is easy to see how, from position, character, and origin, he was at that moment preeminently the representative of his country. The unity of the Republic was menaced. He was from that vast controlling North-west which would never renounce its communications with the sea, whether by the Mississippi or by Eastern avenues. The Declaration of Independence was dishonored in the denial of its primal truths. He had already become known as a volunteer in its defence. Republican institutions were in jeopardy. He was the child of humble life, through whom republican institutions would stand confessed. These things which are so obvious now, in the light of history, were less apparent then in the turmoil of party. But that Providence in whose hands are the destinies of nations, which had found out Washington to conduct his country through the War of Independence, now found out Lincoln to wage the new battle for the unity of the Republic on the foundations of liberty and equality."

Of the election, the accession to the Presidency, the novel and trying situation in which the new Executive found itself, the constant and faithful testimony borne by the Pesident at all exigencies of devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence, these are graphic narratives. [illegible]king the subject of his eulogy from the time of the Bull Run disaster, Mr. Sumner says:

"The first step was taken in Congress after the defeat at Bull Run. But still the President hesitated. Disaster thickened and graves opened, until at last the country saw that only by justice could we hope for Divine favor, and the President, who leaned so closely upon the popular heart, pronounced that great word, by which all slaves in the rebel States were set free. Let it be named forever to his glory that he grasped the thunderbolt, even though tardily, under which the rebellion staggered to its fall; that, following up the blow, he enlisted colored citizens as soldiers in the National army; and, that he declared his final purpose never to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor to return into slavery any person free by the terms of that instrument, or by any of the acts of Congress, saying, loftily, 'If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an Executive duty to reenslave such persons, another and not I must be the instrument to perform it.'

"It was sometimes said that the Proclamation was of doubtful constitutionality. If this criticism did not proceed from sympathy with slavery, it evidently proceeded from the prevailing superstition with regard to this idol. Future jurists will read with astonishment that such a flagrant wrong could be considered at any time as having any rights which a court was bound to respect, and especially that rebels in arms could be considered as having any title to the services of people whose allegiance was primarily due to the United States. But, turning from these conclusions, it seems to be plain that slavery, which stood exclusively on local law without any support in natural law, must have fallen with the local government, both legally and constitutionally; *legally*, inasmuch as it ceased to have any valid legal support, and, *constitutionally*, inasmuch as it came at once within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Constitution, where liberty is the prevailing law. The President did not act upon these principles, but, speaking with the voice of authority, he said, 'Let the slaves be free!' What Court and Congress hesitated to declare, he proclaimed, and thus enrolled himself among the world's emancipators.

"Passing from the Proclamation of Emancipation, which places its author so far above human approach that human envy cannot reach him, I carry you for one moment to our Foreign Relations. The convulsion here was felt in the most distant places—as at the great earthquake of Lisbon, when that capital seemed about to be submerged, there was a commotion of the waters in our Northern lakes. All Europe was stirred. There, too, was the slavery question in another form. England, in an unhappy moment, under an ill-considered plea of 'necessity'—which Milton tells us was the plea by which the fiend 'excused a devilish deed'—accorded to Rebel Slavery the rights of belligerency on the ocean, and then proceeded to open her ports, to surrender her workshops and to let loose her merchant ships in aid of this wickedness; forgetting all the relations of alliance and amity with the United States—forgetting all the logic of English history—forgetting all distinctions of right and wrong—and forgetting also that a new power founded on slavery was a moral monster with which a just nation could have nothing to do. To appreciate the early character of this concession, we must appreciate clearly the whole vast unprecedented crime of the rebellion, taking its complexion from slavery. Undoubtedly it was criminal to assail the unity of this Republic, and thus destroy its peace and impair its example in the world; but the attempt to build a new power on slavery as a corner-stone, and with no other declared object of separate existence, was more than criminal, or rather it was a crime of that untold, unspeakable guilt, which no language can depict and which no judgment can be too swift to condemn. The associates in this terrible apostacy might rebuke each other in the words of an old dramatist:

"'Thou must do, then,
What no malevolent star will dare to look on,
It is so wicked; for which men will curse thee
For being the instrument, and the blest angels
Forsake me at my need, for being the author;
For it is a deed of night, of night, Francisco!
In which the memory of all good actions
We can pretend to, shall be buried quick;
Or, if we be remembered, it shall be
To fright posterity by an example
That have outgone all precedents of villains
[illegible]

Duke of Milan. Act I.

[illegible]ower; to enter into *semi-* [illegible] it with rights; to open [illegible]orkshops to it; to build [illegible] part of this, is positive [illegible] the original guilt, and [illegible]ge any other complicity [illegible]

[illegible]oncession of belligerent [illegible] No event of the war has [illegible]ncession in encourage- [illegible]rime or in prejudice to the United States. It was out of English ports and English workshops that Rebel Slavery drew its supplies. It was in English shipyards that the cruisers of Rebel Slavery were built and equipped. It was England that gave to Rebel Slavery *belligerent power* on the ocean. The early legend was verified in our day. King Arthur was without a sword, when suddenly one appeared thrust out from a lake. 'Lo!' said Merlin, the enchanter, 'yonder is a sword; it belongeth to the Lady of the Lake; *if she will, thou mayest take it; but if she will not, it will not be in thy power to take it.*' And the Lady of the Lake yielded the sword, so says the legend—even as England has since yielded the sword to Rebel Slavery.

"The President saw the painful consequences of this concession, and especially that it was a first step toward the acknowledgment of Rebel Slavery as an independent power. Clearly, if it were proper for a foreign power to acknowledge belligerency, it might, at a later stage, be proper to acknowledge independence; and any objection vital to independence, would, if applicable, be equally vital to belligerency. Solemn resolutions, by Congress, on this subject were communicated to foreign powers; bnt the unanswerable argument against any possible recognition of a new power founded on slavery was stated by the President, in a paper which I now hold in my hand, and which has never before seen the light. It is a copy of a resolution drawn by himself, which he gave to me, in his own autograph, for transmission to one of our valued friends abroad, as an expression of his opinion on the great question involved, and a guide to public duty. It is in these words:

"'Whereas, While *heretofore* States and Nations have tolerated slavery, *recently*, for the first [time] in the world, an attempt has been made to construct a new nation upon the basis of, and with the primary and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate human slavery, therefore

"'Resolved, That no such embryo State should ever be recognized by, or admitted into, the family of Christian and civilized nations; and that all Christian and civilized men everywhere should, by all lawful means, resist to the utmost such recognition or admission.'

"You will see how directly any recognition of Rebel Slavery as an independent power is assailed, and how 'all Christian and civilized men everywhere' are summoned 'to resist to the utmost such recognition.' Of course, had such a benign spirit entered into the councils of England when Slavery first took up arms against the Republic, this great historic nation would have shrunk, at every hazard, from that fatal concession of belligerent rights, which was in itself a plain contribution to its early strength, and opened the way to infinite contributions, without which the criminal pretender must have speedily succumbed. But Divine Providence willed it otherwise. Perhaps it was necessary to the recognition of its boundless capacities, that the Republic should stand forth alone, in sublime solitude, warring for Liberty and Equality, and thus become an example to mankind."

The orator passes in review the address by Mr. Lincoln at Gettysburg; the renomination and reelection to the Presidency; the second Inaugural Address—concerning which he says: It was briefer than any similar address in our history; bnt it has already gone further, and will live longer, than any other. It was a continuation of the Gettysburg speech, with the same sublimity and gentleness. Its concluding words were like an angelic benediction—the 'infinite garrotting' of the rebellion which succeeded, and the winding up of the issue in the downfall of Petersburg and Richmond and the capitulation of Lee. He then comes to the assassination, and refers to it as follows:

"The country was in ecstasy. All this he watched without elation, while his soul was brooding on thoughts of peace and clemency. His youthful son, who had been on the staff of the Lieutenant-General, returned on the morning of Friday, 14th April, to resume his interrupted studies. The father was happy in the sound of his footsteps, and felt the augury of peace. On the same day the Lieutenant-General returned. In the intimacy of his family the President said that this day the war was over. In the evening he sought relaxation, and you know the rest. Alas! the war was not over. The agents of Slavery were dogging him, and that night he became a martyr.

"The country rose at once in an agony of grief, and strong men everywhere wept. City, town and village were darkened by the obsequies, as they swept by with more than 'sceptred pall.' Every street was draped with the ensigns of woe. He had become, as it were, the inmate of every house, and the families of the land were in mourning. Not only in the Executive mansion, but in innumerable homes, was his vacant chair. Never before was such universal sorrow; and already the voice of lamentation is returning to us from Europe, where candor toward him had begun even before death. Only a short time ago he was unknown, except in his own State. Only a short time ago, he had visited New York as a stranger, and was shown about its streets by youthful companions. Five years later, he was borne through these streets with funeral pomp, such as the world never before witnessed.

"At the first moment it was hard to comprehend this blow, and many cried in despair. But the rule of God had been too visible of late to allow any donbt of his constant presence. Did not our martyr remind us in his last address, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether? And who will say that his death was not a judgment of the Lord? Perhaps it was needed to lift the country to a more perfect justice and to inspire it with a sublimer faith. Perhaps it was sent in mercy to set a sacred irreversible seal upon the good he had done, and to put emancipation beyond all mortal question. Perhaps it was the sacrificial consecration of those primal truths, embodied in the Declaration of Independence, which he had so often vindicated, and for which he had announced his willingness to die. He is gone, and he has been mourned sincerely. It is only private sorrow that could wish to recall the dead. He is now removed beyond human vicissitudes. Life and death are both past. He had been happy in life. He was not less happy in death. In death, as in life, he was still under the guardianship of that Divine Providence, which took him early by the hand and led him from obscurity to power and fame. Only on the Sunday preceding his assassination, as he was reposing on a couch, he read aloud, twice, the well-known words of Macbeth:

"'Duncan is in his grave,
After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.
Treason has done his worst; nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch him further.'

As the friends who then surrounded him listened to his reading, they little thought how, in a few days, what was said of the murdered Duncan would be said of him. Nothing can touch him further. He is saved from the trials that were gathering about him. He had fought the good fight of Emancipation. He had borne the brunt of war with embattled hosts against him, and had conquered. He had made the name of Republic a triumph and joy in foreign lands. Now that the strife of blood was ended, it remained to be seen how he could confront those machinations, which are only a *prolongation of the war*, and more dangerous because more subtle, where recent rebels, with professions of Union on their lips, but still defying the principles of the Declaration of Independence, vainly seek to organize peace on *another Oligarchy of the skin.* From all these trials he was saved. But his testimony lives and will live forever, quickened by the undying echoes of his tomb. Dead, he will speak with more than living voice. Bnt the anthor of Emancipation cannot die. His immortality on earth has begun. His country and his age are already enshrined in his example, as if he were its great poet gathered to his fathers:

"'Back to the living hath he turned him,
And all of death has past away;
The age that thought him dead and mourned him,
Itself now lives bnt in his lay.'"

Recurring again to the comparison of Lincoln with Washington, the orator maintains that there were physical resemblances too striking not to be observed. The sociability, kindliness and humor of the late President, as also his originality, simplicity, perception of moral truth, and tendency to expose all moral wrong, and his courage to apply truth, are all presented as exemplary traits, with great cogency and beauty of diction; and after a striking analysis of Lincoln's whole character and genius in contrast with Cæsar, William of Orange, Henry IV. of France, and St. Louis of France, the eulogy concludes as follows:

"Such, fellow-citizens, is the life and character of Abraham Lincoln. You have discerned his simple beginnings; have watched his early struggles; have gratefully followed his consecration to those truths which our fathers declared; have hailed him as the twice-elected head of the Republic, through whom it was known in foreign lands; have recognized him at a period of national trial as the representative of the *unfulfilled promises* of our fathers, even as Washington was the representative of National Independence; and you have beheld him struck down, at the moment of victory, when Rebel Slavery was everywhere succumbing. Reverently we acknowledge the finger of the Almighty, and pray that all our trials may not fail; but that the promises of the Fathers may be fulfilled, so that all men shall be equal before the law, and government shall stand only on the consent of the governed, two self-evident truths which the Declaration of Independence has announced.

"Traitorous assassination struck him down. But do not be too vindictive in heart towards the poor atom that held the weapon. Reserve your rage for the responsible Power which, not content with assailing the life of the Republic by atrocious rebellion, has outraged all laws, human and Divine; has organized barbarism as a principle of conduct; has taken the lives of Unionists at home; has prepared robbery and murder on the Northern borders; has fired hotels filled with women and children; has plotted to scatter infection and yellow fever; has starved American citizens held as prisoners; has menaced assassination always; and now, at last, true to itself, has assassinated our President; and this responsible Power is none other than Slavery. It is Slavery that has taken the life of our beloved Chief Magistrate, and here is another triumph of its barbarism. On Slavery let vengeance fall. I care not what you do with the worms it employs; bnt do not, I entreat you, yield any indulgence to this murderous wickedness. Ravaillac, the assassin of Henry IV. of France, was torn in pieces on the public square in front of the City Hall, by four powerful horses, each of them attached to one of his limbs, and pulling in opposite directions, until at last, after a fearful struggle, nothing of the wretched assassin remained in the hands of the executioner, except his empty shirt—which was at once handed over to be burned. Such be our vengeance, and let Slavery be the victim.

"But not only Slavery, which is another name for property in man, but so also that other pretension, which is not less irrational, that Human Rights can depend on color. This is the shirt of the assassin; and it must be handed over to be burned.

"Such a vengeance will be like a kiss of reconciliation; for it will remove every obstacle to peace and harmony. The people where slavery once ruled will bless the blow which destroyed it. They will yet confess that it was dealt in no harshness to them, in no unkindness, in no desire to humiliate, but simply and solemnly, in the name of the Republic, and of Human Nature; for their good as well as ours; ay, for their good more than ours.

"It is by ideas that we have conquered, more than by armies. The sword of the Archangel was less mighty than the mission which he bore from the Lord. But if the ideas which have given us the victory are now neglected; if the promises of the Declaration, which the rebellion openly assailed, are still left unfulfilled, then will our blood and treasure have been lavished in vain. Alas! for the dead who have given themselves so bravely to their country; alas! for the living who have been left to mourn the dead; if any relic of Slavery is allowed to continue; especially if this bloody impostor, defeated in the pretension of property in man, is allowed to perpetuate an *Oligarchy of the skin!*

"And how shall these ideas be saved? At this moment all turns on the colored suffrage in the rebel States. *This is now the pivot of national safety.* A mistake on this point is worse than the loss of a battle.

"The argument for the colored suffrage is overwhelming. It springs from the necessity of the case, as well as from the rights of man. This suffrage is needed for the security of the colored people, for the stability of the local government, and for the strength of the Union. Without it there is nothing but insecurity for the colored people, instability for the local government, and weakness for the Union, involving of course the National credit. Without it the rebellion will break forth under a new *alias*, unarmed it may be, but with white votes to take possession of the local government and wield it at will, whether at home or in the national councils. If it be said that the colored people are unfit, then do I say that they are more fit than their recent masters, or even than many among the 'poor whites.' They have been loyal always, and who are you, that, under any pretence, exalts the prejudices of the disloyal above the rights of the loyal? Their suffrage is now needed. An English statesman, after the acknowledgment of the Spanish Colonies as Independent States, boasted that he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. In similar spirit, we too must call a new ballot into existence in order to overcome the preponderance of those who have not yet learned the duty of justice to the colored race.

"The same National authority that struck down Slavery must see that this other pretension is not permitted to survive; nor can there be any doubt that the authority which struck down slavery is competent to this kindred duty. Each is a part of that great policy of justice through which alone can peace be made permanent and immutable. Nor can the Republic shirk this remaining duty, without leaving emancipation unfinished and the promises of the Declaration of Independence unfulfilled. Vain is the gift of liberty, if you surrender the rights of the freedman to be judged by the recent asserters of property in man. Burke, in his day, saw the flagrant inconsistency and denounced it, saying, that whatever such people did on this subject was 'arrant trifling,' and, notwithstanding its plausible form, always wanted what he aptly called 'the executive principle.' These words of warning have been adopted and repeated by two later statesmen, George Canning and Henry Brougham; bnt they are so plain as not to need the support of names. The infant must not be handed over to be suckled by the wolf, but carefully nursed by its parent; and since the Republic is the parent of emancipation, the Republic must nurse the immortal infant into maturity and strength. It is the Republic which at the beginning took up this great work. The Republic must finish what it began; and it cannot err on this occasion, if, in anxious care, it holds nothing done so long as anything remains undone. It is the Republic which with matchless energy hurled forward its armies until it conquered. The Republic must exact that 'security for the future,' without which this unparalleled war will have been waged in vain. It is the Republic which to-day, with one consenting voice, commemorates the murdered dead. The same Republic, prompt to honor him, must require that his promises to an oppressed race be maintained in all their integrity and completeness, in letter and in spirit, so that the great cause for which he became a sacrifice may not fail. His martyrdom was a new pledge beyond any even in life.

"There can be no question here whether a State is in the Union or out of it. This is but a phrase on which discussion is useless. Look at the *actual fact.* Here all will agree. The old governments are vacated, and this is enough. Until the *whole body of loyal people* have set up a government, all is under the National authority, acting by the Executive or by Congress; and, since the Constitution, even without the injunction of the Declaration of Independence, knows nothing of color, it is the obvious duty of the National authority to protect all loyal people against any denial of rights on this pretension. Already it has undertaken to say that certain persons shall not vote. Surely the same authority which may limit the electoral law of Slavery may enlarge it. If the National authority can do anything about elections; if it can order an election; if it can regulate an election; if it can exclnde a traitor who is still at large, it can admit a loyalist, whose only incapacity is his skin.

"The colored suffrage is now a necessity. But beyond this, in making it an essential condition of the restoration of rebel States to the Union, we follow, first, the law of reason and of nature, and secondly, the Constitution, not only in its text, but as interpreted by the Declaration of Independence. By reason and nature there can be no denial of rights on account of color; and we can do nothing which is thus irrational and unnatural. By the Constitution it is stipulated that the 'United States shall guaratee to every State a *republican form of government*'; but the meaning of this guarantee must be found in the Declaration of Independence, which is the controlling preamble of the Constitution. Beyond all question the United States, when called to enforce this guaranty must insist on the *Equality of all men before the law*, and the *consent of the governed.* Such is the true idea of a Republican government according to American institutions.

"The slave-masters, driven from their first intrenchments, already occupy inner defences. Property in man is abandoned; but they now insist that colored persons shall not enjoy political rights. Liberty has been won. The battle for equality is still pending. And now a new compromise is proposed, by which colored persons are to be sacrificed in the name of State Rights. It is sad that it should be so. But I do not despair. The cause may be delayed; bnt it cannot be lost; and all who set themselves against it will be overborne, for it is the cause of humanity. Not the rich and proud, but the poor and lowly will be the favorites of an enfranchised republic. The words of the prophet will be fulfilled: 'And I will punish the people for their evil, and the wicked for their iniquity, and I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease, and I will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible. I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man, than the golden wedge of Ophir.' I catch these sublime words of prophecy, and echo them back as the assurance of triumph.

"Fellow-citizens, your task is before you. Mourn not the dead, but rejoice in his life and example. Rejoice as you point to this child of the people who was lifted so high, that Republican institutions became manifest in him. Rejoice that through him Emancipation was proclaimed. Above all, see to it that his constant vows are fulfilled, and that the promises of the Fathers are maintained, so that no person in the upright form of man can be shut out from their protection. Then will the unity of the Republic be fixed on a foundation that cannot fail, and other nations will enjoy its security. The corner-stone of National Independence is already in its place, and on it is inscribed the name of George Washington. There is another stone which must have its place at the corner also. This is the Declaration of Independence, with all its promises fulfilled. On this stone we will gratefully inscribe the name of Abraham Lincoln.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.

THE LATE CHARGE OF RECORDER HILL.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

Birmingham, in England, rejoices in a magistrate who has given the best years of a long life to the establishment of a better system for the treatment of criminals. The venerable Mattheas Davenport Hill, Recorder of that city, was the constant and warm friend of Capt. Maconochie; he did much to introduce reformatories for young offenders into England, and of late years he has been striving to induce the government to try the Irish Convict System in the English prisons. To a certain extent, he and his coadjutors, Lord Brougham, the Earl of Carnarvon, Miss Carpenter, Miss Cobbe, Miss Twining, etc., have been successful, and the laws have been materially modified. The present result of this modification is alluded to by Mr. Hill in a recent charge to the Grand Jury of Birmingham, delivered on the 10th of April last. For the benefit of our readers, who may remember the words of Mr. Hill quoted in the *Commonwealth* last Autumn, we copy here the beginning and the close of this charge:

"It will probably be remembered by many who now hear me that at the last Michaelmas Sessions I recapitulated the principal provisions of the statutes creating and regulating penal servitude, and also of the steps taken by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to bring his administration of those Acts, and particularly the last of them, into harmony with the intention which has uniformly guided the Legislature from the passing of the first of them in 1853 down to the present time; that intention being that the treatment of the criminal should be so conducted as to promote his reformation by every means which the power and influence of the State can command; the chief expedient being *to confer on the convict the invaluable privilege of working out his freedom by industry and good conduct at an earlier period than that appointed by the sentence.* I hailed the change of administrative measures adopted by the Executive government as evidence almost amounting to demonstration, that the great principle to which I have adverted was henceforth to be carried into practical effect—a consummation to be obtained by importing into Great Britain a large instalment of the system which has been crowned with such remarkable success in Ireland. Expressing my regret that the good intentions of the Home Office must, by its mutilation of the plans pursued in the sister island under Sir Walter Crofton, be to some extent frustrated, I nevertheless rejoiced in the prospect which then displayed itself before us, and indulged the hope that when the good effects resulting from a partial adoption of the Irish system had manifested themselves, and the omissions of which I had complained had been proved to be the only hindrance to further progress, the assimilation of the two systems would be gradually completed. Little has occurred to diminish these hopes, while some events have tended to increase them, although, perhaps, my anticipations are not on the whole quite so bright as they were when I delivered my charge to your predecessors. It cannot, however, be denied that not only has the discipline of the convict prisons been greatly ameliorated, but that improvement has extended itself into our county and borough jails, in certain of which much good is doing, *notwithstanding the anomaly is still maintained of withholding from the lesser malefactors the privilege of shortening their terms of confinement*, the higher offenders (as it would almost seem) being still considered to have earned the monopoly of this precious advantage by their greater achievements in crime."

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"Under the auspices of the Earl of Carnarvon, to whose exertions the country is much indebted, Sir Walter Crofton has gratuitously devoted his time, talents, and experience to the labor of carrying into effect the suggestions of the noble lord in the district with which he is connected, and also in its vicinity. The consequence is that the county jails at Winchester, Devizes, and Salisbury are in a far better state than heretofore. On Monday last the Visiting Justices of Hampshire presented a most gratifying report as to improvements effected at Winchester; stating also that the adjoining county of Wilts 'is now engaged in reorganizing its jails at Salisbury and Devizes on our model,' and that 'what is still more gratifying is, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department has introduced into the House of Commons a Prison Bill avowedly based on the principles in operation in this county, and that if it should become law it will not involve a single change in the system now pursued in Hampshire.' One fact mentioned in this report will, I have no donbt, attract the attention of all local authorities engaged in the conduct of prisons. It is that the receipts for cash for industrial labor during the quarter amount to £406 0*s.* 5*d.*, against £47 18*s.* 6*d.* in the corresponding quarter of last year, the industrial receipt for the last three quarters having together amounted to £717 18*s.* 2*d.*, against £84 17*s.* 8*d.* for the three corresponding quarters of the previous year. Perhaps, gentlemen, you may be of opinion that I have not enabled you to catch more than a glimpse into the new state of things, and that it would be presumptuous, prior to the results of a longer experience, to surrender ourselves to the pleasure of sanguine expectation. Should that be the frame of mind into which this address has brought you, I am bound to admit that I cannot gainsay the good sense of such a conclusion. Indeed, it has forced itself upon my own mind perhaps even to an undue extent. But years of disappointment have made me distrustful. Moreover, I am an old man, and we are told by the great Lord Chatham that confidence is a plant of slow growth in aged bosoms. Nevertheless, we also know that, to use the words of the poet,

'Hope springs eternal in the human breast,'

so that it is often entertained where absolute confidence must be rigidly excluded. Indeed we may, I trust, welcome the presentiment that a future is coming which will repair the ill fortune of the past."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

JOHN BROWN AVENGED.

Thou hero-martyr for the bleeding slave,
 Proud Southrons hung thee on the gibbet high;
But God has now avenged thy death, O Brave!
 And to that deed, in wrath, has made reply.

Virginia thought she triumphed when thy Braves
 Marched, Heaven summoned, on her "sacred soil";
Bearing the boon of freedom to her slaves,
 Long crushed beneath their unrequited toil.

But now the vaunting South that drank thy blood,
 More guilty than the "Cities of the Plain"—
Lies crushed beneath the avenging hand of God,
 And sire and matron mourn their children slain.

Thy score of men were Freedom's chosen band,
 That first advanced against the nation's foe,
Brought on the war that late so scourged the land,
 And filled its dwellings with the voice of woe.

Thy conquered cities and thy wasted fields,
 Thy homes made vacant and thy pride cast down;
These are the price, O South, thy weakness yields,
 For thy foul murder of the great John Brown.

Thy wealth, by bondmen piled, becomes but trash,
 Naught now remains of the unrighteous hoard;
And every drop of blood drawn by the lash,
 Is now repaid with one drawn by the sword.*

And thou, O North, partaker of the crime,
 Whose Press and Senate justified the deed;
Hast not escaped the avenging hand of time,
 Following thy guilt as with the lightning's speed.

Ten thousand lives, for each of that brave band
 That fell in fight or on the Gallows died;
Stern retribution called for at thy hand,
 And, lo, thy sons the sacrifice supplied.

Thy peaceful homes have heard the wail of woe,
 And fathers, mothers, wives, and sisters dear
Have seen their loved ones in the fight laid low,
 And mourned their dead with many a bitter tear.

But while, at length, Peace ends the deadly strife,
 And Victory's bells ring out from sea to sea;
God may in pity spare the nation's life,
 But He will surely set the Bondmen free.

New York, May, 1865. D. Plumb.

* See President Lincoln's last Inaugural.

FRED. DOUGLASS ON PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

THE SPEAKER'S VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF HIS RACE.

The announcement that Frederick Douglass would deliver an oration on the life, administration, and death of President Lincoln, drew an immense mixed audience, persons of color predominating, to Cooper Institute, Thursday evening, June 1, the day of the Fast. Every seat was filled, and several hundred persons were compelled to stand during the exercises. The platform was extended, and was occupied by about one hundred persons, beside a select class of young ladies, who sang several airs during the evening. Dr. Tyng, President Acton of the Police Department, George W. Blunt, and other prominent citizens, occupied seats on the stage.

The exercises were opened with prayer by Mr. John Peterson.

The Chairman, Mr. Ransom F. Wake, read the Committee's statement in connection with the refusal of the Common Council Committee to assign colored societies, etc., a place in the funeral procession. The paper denounced the action of the Common Council Committee in unmeasured terms. The document was too long to give it place in our columns.

The Chairman introduced the orator of the evening, Frederick Douglass, in a few complimentary words. Mr. Douglass was warmly applauded on advancing to the front of the platform. He said that he felt a certain degree of embarrassment in appearing before the audience on this occasion. It was a time when the rarest gifts, the highest eloquence, and the greatest genius the country had produced, might fail under the dignity and grandeur of the occasion. It was one of the principal themes which was destined to interest and thrill the hearts of men in the coming ages. If Abraham Lincoln had died by any ordinary ill by which men are ordinarily removed; if, after a successful life, he had reached the good old age of which his constitution gave promise; if he had lived to see the work he had inaugurated, completed, in a certain degree, his death would have been grand. But Abraham Lincoln died by the red hand of violence, without warning. He was assassinated—murdered without personal hate—for no man that knew Abraham Lincoln could hate him. He died because he was the President of the United States, duly elected. For this he was killed—murdered—assassinated. This is the great, all-commending reason why we pay homage to his memory. For this reason men everywhere pay homage to his memory as a glorious martyr of freedom and human rights. In this view we should consider him. The most the speaker could do in a time like this, when the press, the pulpit, and the platform are employed on this one theme, was to give back to the country the thoughts and feelings derived from the country. The speaker was but as the wave of the ocean, deriving his strength from the sea. All over the country men are thinking of Abraham Lincoln, their martyred President. Statesmen, scholars, poets, as never before, are paying tributes to the memory of our martyred President. It was proper, as it was well deserved on his part, and it was beautiful on our part.

MR. LINCOLN AND THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Mr. Douglass said that it was well that the colored people should have a voice in these marks of respect to our martyred President. No people as a class have more reason to lament his death and revere his memory than the colored people of the United States. They were the only people prohibited from publicly expressing their regret and sorrow at the death of the President. It was hardly worth while for him to denounce the action of the authorities of New York in excluding the colored people from the procession, but if he should say anything it would be that it was the most disgraceful and scandalous proceeding ever exhibited by people calling themselves civilized. (Applause.) The speaker inquired, What was Abraham Lincoln to the colored people? And what was he to them compared to the long line of his predecessors, who were the servile and abject devotees of the Slave Power? Abraham Lincoln was unsurpassed by any in his interest for the white man, and was emphatically the black man's President. He was the first of the long line to show any respect to the rights of the black man, or to acknowledge that he had any rights the white man ought to respect. Let the white man do all it is possible to perpetuate his memory, but let the colored people have space for one stone to give some intimation of the great reverence and love the colored people have for Abraham Lincoln. Those love most who receive most. (Applause.) The lecturer said that the most affecting incident he had heard was that of a poor colored woman who was found weeping near the Presidential mansion. When asked why she wept, she replied, "We have lost our Moses." The answer was given, "God will send you another." The woman quickly said, "I know that, but we had him already." (Applause.) The speaker continued and said the colored people believed in Abraham Lincoln, had loved him even when he smote and wounded them. They thoroughly trusted and believed in him; but it was no blind belief, unsupported by reason. They caught a glimpse of him in the beginning, and viewed him in the light of his great mission, they trusted as men seldom trust. They would have been pleased if he had confined his reasons to other motives than expediency or military necessity, but they wanted to see the grand fact that slavery was being abolished. They saw good in the fact that he was plucking out the writing of ages—prejudice; they saw three million made free and given the right to defend their freedom with the rifle and cartridge-box. They saw good in the fact that the power of the rebellion has been ground to powder and blown away as dust before the North wind. They took no captious exception to incidents connected with their transition from slavery to freedom. Mr. Douglass said he would not speak to them as colored men, but as men among men; as fellow-citizens having the same glory in the common interests of the country as other men. From this stand-point the prospect is bright and glorious for the future greatness of the nation. In alluding to the death of Mr. Lincoln, the speaker said that nothing could have produced greater consternation. Although we had not yet reached land, we might say that we had survived the agony of the fierce and sanguinary rebellion, with a prospect of peace. If we are wise and great, will it be disturbed by the proud and insolent oligarchy of the South? Already the key-note of justice has been sounded; already order has come out of confusion, and the law has become a terror to evil-doers; traitors and assassins—male or female—whether in male or female attire—are to be punished. (Applause.) Slavery has been blotted out and abolished forever, and the negro is to be enfranchised and clothed with all the dignity of the American citizen. (Applause.) The poor whites of the South, who have been looked down upon and oppressed by the slaveholders, are also to be lifted up from their social and political debasement. Henceforth there should be no North, no South, no East, no West in American politics, but it should be a nation of all for all. We shall stand as a power among the nations of the earth. The lecturer pictured a glowing future for our country, and said that in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln there was a bow of promise. It was perhaps necessary that we should pass through this last ordeal. Mr. Douglass spoke of the hostility of foreign nations to the government, and their doubts of the success of the nation to withstand the ordeal, and said that the oppressed of other lands were stretching forth their hands for freedom since our success had become evident. In alluding to the cause of the rebellion, Mr. Douglass said it was beyond human power to have prevented it. It was a part of, and grew out of, fundamental errors in our system. We had reaped what we had sown. We could no more evade this war than we could evade our antecedents. Slavery was the seed of rebellion and assassination. We should learn a lesson from the war, and in the reconstruction of the States, not incorporate any vestige of slavery in it, to hand down to our children. In our system was a gigantic evil which we had to put away—peaceably if we could, forcibly if we must. In conclusion, Mr. Douglass passed a high eulogium on the independence, integrity, and kindness of Mr. Lincoln's character, illustrating his remarks by several anecdotes of his own experience with the late President.

At the close of the lecture Mr. Douglass was warmly applauded.

SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

From the Evening Post.

On the 8th of May a great debate occurred in the British Parliament upon the question of an extension of the suffrage to a more numerous class of workingmen.

The right to vote is at present confined, in Great Britain, to certain classes of the population. Under present regulations, occupants of houses of the yearly value of £10 are electors in the towns; and a corresponding class in the counties. The proposal debated in Parliament was to give the suffrage to £6-householders, and thus to admit a large number of the workingmen.

With these limitations the voters in Great Britain, in a population of over thirty-one millions, amounted in 1864 to 1,333,690; but our Presidential vote in 1860 numbered 4,662,170, with a population, if we leave off the three and a half millions then slaves, three million less. The distribution of these electors in different districts is somewhat singular. Wales returns one member of Parliament for every 1,860 voters; Scotland one for every 1,939; Ireland one for every 1,958, and England one for every 2,073.

One constituency, or district as we should call it, that of London, returns four members; it has 17,593 voters. But it is not this great electoral strength which gives it four representatives, for another with 20,000 voters sends but three members; and another with less than 5,000 voters sends three also. The West Riding of Yorkshire, with 40,476 voters, sends but two representatives; Manchester, with over 20,000, sends but two; twenty-two districts which send two members each to Parliament, do so with less than 6,000 voters; and six have less than 200 voters, yet send two members each. Of the 146 districts which send one member each, two have more than 5,000 voters; fourteen have less than 300; five have less than 200, and three—all Irish—have respectively 146, 145, and 106.

One-half the House of Commons is returned by less than fourteen per cent. of the whole number of voters, under this somewhat arbitrary and irregular system. "If the ten electoral counties of Westmoreland, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, West Cumberland, North Northumberland, South Shropshire, West Sussex, West Worcestershire and North and South Wiltshire were rolled into one, their united population would be less than that of the West Riding of Yorkshire by 617,485; and their united constituencies be 3,801 behind that powerful county division. Yet the ten return twenty members to the West Riding's modest two!" says an English writer, commenting on this state of things.

Portarlington, which sends one member, has but 106 voters. Each of these 106 happy and influential men exercises as much power in the House of Commons as 44 voters of Edinburgh, 47 of Dublin, 83 of London, 103 of Manchester, 147 in the Tower Hamlets, or 190 in West Yorkshire.

Mr. Ackland, in whose "Imperial Poll Book" these figures are to be found, suggests that every member should represent, in the House, an equal number of electors; but until this reform can be introduced, he thinks that the votes of members should count proportionably to the number of their constituents. A writer in *Chambers's Journal*, commenting on this, remarks that in such a case "the Colonial Secretary's vote would be worth four times as much as that of the Home Secretary; the Chancellor of the Exchequer would count for eight times as much as the Premier; the divisional value of the Judge-Advocate-General would be nearly three times that of the president of the Board of Trade; and one or two under-secretaries would considerably outweigh the heads of their departments. The opinion of Mr. Cox upon any question whatever would be practically worth six times that of Mr. Gladstone, twenty-seven times that of Lord Stanley, and forty-nine times that of Lord Palmerston; and a member whose name is hardly known beyond the borough he represents, would reckon in the division-list for exactly twice as much as the whole of the Cabinet ministers."

The Reform Bill, which is the dread of English politicians of both parties, is intended to remove some of these anomalies. In the debate to which we have referred, however, the leaders of the liberals fought shy of reform, except as a conveniently vague phrase to appeal to the country with. They refused to pledge themselves to any definite plan for reforming the suffrage.

Where was Ophir?—Professor Max Muller, in his "Lectures on the Science of Language," takes up the question, which has so long been an open question, where the Ophir of the Scripture was situated. He confirms what has long been the prevailing opinion—that it was India; but he does this by an argument somewhat new and unique. He says: "A great deal has been written to find out where this Ophir was; but there can be no doubt that it was in India. The names for apes, peacocks, ivory, and almug-trees (brought by Solomon's fleet from Ophir), are foreign words in Hebrew, as much as gutta-percha or tobacco are in English. Now, if we wished to know from what part of the world gutta-percha was first imported into England, we might safely conclude that it came from that country where the name gutta-percha formed part of the spoken language. If, therefore, we can find a language in which the names for peacock, apes, ivory and almug-tree, which are foreign to the Hebrew, are indigenous, we may be certain that the country in which that language was spoken must have been the Ophir of the Bible. That language is no other but Sanscrit."

Beware of Dogs.—The Paris exhibition of dogs opened on the 6th of May. Seventeen hundred dogs were sent in to the jury, who admitted but twelve hundred and fifty. This number does not include twenty-five packs hounds, of fifteen couples each. Dogs have been sent in from France, England, Belgium, Russia, China and Australia.—*Apostle.*

"Heads of the People."—Richard Cobden, the Orator and Reformer; Mrs. De Lesdernier. The Siamese Twins; A Kaffir Witch Doctor, and the Assassin of the President, with Portraits; How to treat the Conquered; "Revenge"; A Sensible Prayer; Phrenology Examined; Beauty on a Horse; Dangerous Eyes; "Signs of [illegible]"; Soul Life and Body Life; Courtship as it Should Be—in the Phrenological Journal for June. Only 20 cents by first post—Newsmen have it—Address Messrs. FOWLER & WELLS, No. 389 Broadway, N. Y. All six illustrated Nos. from Jan. to June sent for $1. 4—2t.